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ABSTRACT

This monograph reports on a study that examined the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York, New Jersey. Data were collected through interviews with the heads of 300 Cuban families. A review of relevant literature and an overview of the research design and methodology are presented in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 provides descriptive information on the ethnic and community characteristics of West New York. The occupational histories of Cuban migrants are presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 focuses on the assimilation and adjustment of the migrants. Analyses are made of the relationship between assimilation and social characteristics, job history, and integration into the community; adjustment as reflected in job satisfaction and nervous/emotional problems; and mental health attitudes and behaviors. Chapter 5 summarizes the study findings and presents recommendations for future research and policy formation. (Author/MK)

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ADAPTATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF CUBANS:

WEST NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY

by

Eleanor Meyer Rogg
Rosemary Santana Cooney

Monograph Number Five

Hispanic Research Center
Lloyd H. Rogler, Director

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FOREWORD

Along with Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, Cubans have become a part of the large and growing Spanish-speaking segment of American society. Yet, in terms of their refugee status and their political motivation for leaving their homeland, they remain quite distinct within the framework of U.S. culture at large. Comprising one of the largest single groups of political refugees ever to seek asylum in the United States, Cubans have had a considerable impact on the economy, politics, and culture of Southern Florida and other areas of the country. The study we present here focuses on a specific urban area -- the town of West New York in New Jersey -- to which Cubans have gravitated and provides valuable information and insight into the adaptation and adjustment of a large group of Cuban migrants.

This study was conducted for two reasons. First, it builds upon an earlier work carried out in the same community 11 years ago by Eleanor Rogg, one of the authors of this monograph. The replication of studies focusing upon the same community is a rare event in the social and behavioral sciences. When we are informed by the results of a community study conducted only at one point in time, there is a tendency to view that community as a frozen entity, historically static, and unchanging. The present study demonstrates that West New York Cubans defy such a model. Replication studies, however, are of value not only in bringing history up to date, but also because they enable the identification of patterns of continuities and discontinuities in community life. This monograph, therefore, provides an opportunity to identify structural changes in the character and life of an active, dynamic community.

The second reason for conducting the study was the pressing need to understand the patterns of occupational mobility among Cuban migrants and how such patterns interrelate to a broader configuration of assimilation and adaptation variables. The effects of the occupational achievements of Cubans in the United States extend beyond their working hours and include access to quality health care, quality housing, and quality education for their children, and exert an influence even on the acquisition of U.S. citizenship.

The first chapter reviews several studies on Cuban migrants, highlighting research related to the occupational mobility, assimilation, and adjustment of Cubans. Studies of other refugee groups are included to help the reader better understand the Cuban migrant experience. The second chapter provides descriptive information on changes in the Cuban community of West New York, comparing demographic and ethnic community characteristics

and community links to the larger society between 1968 and 1979. The third chapter describes the occupational mobility patterns among Cuban migrants in West New York from their last jobs in Cuba through their first jobs in the United States to their present jobs. This description is followed by an analysis of the relationship between occupational mobility and the migrants' social characteristics -- education, sex, age at arrival, and length of residence in the United States. The fourth chapter focuses on the assimilation and adjustment of Cuban migrants and the influence of social characteristics and occupational achievement upon these processes. In addition, the authors examine the hypothesis that community integration is a factor which hinders the assimilation of migrants. Descriptive information is provided on the mental health attitudes and behaviors of Cuban migrants. The fifth and final chapter of the monograph summarizes the principal findings of the study and presents several recommendations concerning future research and policy formulation.

This monograph is the fifth in a series published by the Hispanic Research Center to stimulate interest in Hispanic concerns. The first monograph reported on the health conditions of New York City's Puerto Ricans; the second presented a study of the outgroup marriage patterns of New York City's Hispanic populations; the third examined the Hispanic experience of the criminal justice system in the United States; and the fourth appraised the mental health status and needs of Puerto Rican children in the New York City area.

The Hispanic Research Center was established at Fordham University in 1977, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, to work toward five major objectives: (1) to conduct interdisciplinary research on issues relevant to the mental health of the Hispanic population; (2) to increase and upgrade the number of Hispanic scholars experienced in doing research in the mental health related disciplines; (3) to provide technical assistance to Hispanic behavioral scientists, professionals, and organizations interested in the mental health problems of Hispanic communities; (4) to develop links between individual Hispanic researchers and between these researchers and persons involved in the formulation and implementation of Hispanic relevant public policy; and (5) to disseminate information on the mental health of the Hispanic population.

We hope that this monograph will enable us to better understand the adaptation and adjustment processes of Cuban migrants in a new environment.

Lloyd H. Rogler

Fordham University
August 1980

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The research upon which this monograph is based was supported by the Hispanic Research Center of Fordham University. The Center provided not only financial backing, but also an environment conducive to intellectual growth and scholarly exchange, an environment which considerably enriched this research effort. Lloyd H. Rogler, director of the Center, provided constructive comments and encouragement throughout all phases of the research project. Douglas T. Gurak was instrumental in developing the sampling design and together with Margarita Garcia contributed to the construction of the interview schedule. The field operations ran smoothly thanks to the generous efforts of Yanet Baldares and Maria Loy. During the data collection phase, office space in West New York was kindly supplied by Mayor DeFino and Reverend Fekete of St. Joseph's Parish. Valuable consultation and information on the community was provided by Rolando Alum, Fernando Lopez, Rosa Maria Gil, and the staff of the West New York Board of Education, Hudson Community College, and the local CETA office. Processing of the data was facilitated by the capable research assistance of Michael Zagurek, Kyonghee Min, Vilma Ortiz, Rose Marie Hurrell, and Leonard Correale. Magdalena Porrata, Rosalie Lopez, and Mercedes Rivera carefully typed various sections of the manuscript. The readability of the monograph was improved by the competent editorial assistance of Stasia Madrigal. Liz Ospina, the Center's administrative assistant, skillfully coordinated all phases of the research project.

This monograph represents our effort to understand the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York. If these analyses contribute to increasing our knowledge of important factors affecting the Cuban migration experience, then the credit must be shared with all the persons who worked on the project. The shortcomings and limitations that remain, however, are the sole responsibility of the authors.

Eleanor Meyer Rogg
Rosemary Santana Cooney

New York City
August 1980

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ADAPTATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF CUBANS:

WEST NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY

1

Adaptation and Adjustment of Cuban Migrants

This monograph focuses on the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants living in West New York, New Jersey. When Cubans arrive in the United States, they must learn to adapt to a new social and cultural environment. Adaptation refers to the broad process of change that migrants undergo as they develop strategies to cope with the new society. This study examines two important aspects of the adaptation process: occupational mobility and assimilation, as well as the factors affecting these patterns and the relationship between them.

The experience of change associated with occupational mobility, especially downward mobility, and assimilation may produce stresses adversely affecting the Cuban migrant's adjustment; that is, his sense of well-being or satisfaction with his new life situation. But if the migrant lives in a strong ethnic community from which he derives a sense of identity and support through primary group relations, the tensions associated with the adaptation process may be mitigated. This study examines two aspects of adjustment: job satisfaction and the reporting of nervous or emotional problems, as well as the relationship of adjustment with occupational mobility, assimilation, and integration into a strong ethnic community.

The major flow of Cubans to the United States occurred after the Revolution of 1959. The immigration of Cubans has been perceived as fundamentally different from that of other Hispanic groups such as the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Cubans are predominantly defined as political refugees who did not voluntarily migrate to the United States in search of economic opportunities and a better life, but who were pushed out of Cuba by a political situation defined as intolerable for themselves (Fagan, Brody, and O'Leary, 1968; Rogg, 1974). The desire to adapt to a new lifestyle and cultural pattern, that is often found among immigrants attracted to the receiving society, is usually not present among refugees. Indeed, most refugees in the early phases of immigration experience a deep sense of loss of their homeland and hope that political conditions will

change in the future to enable them to return to their country of origin (Murphy, 1955; Petersen, 1958; Cirtautas, 1963; Lee, 1969; Kunz, 1973). Several studies conducted during the 1960s have found that the majority of Cuban refugees hoped to return home (Fagan, Brody, and O'Leary, 1968; Rogg, 1974).

This perspective has been challenged as being overly simplistic because it ignores the diversity of Cuban immigration (Wong, 1973). A significant number of Cuban refugees are traditional immigrants who came to the United States in search of a higher standard of living. Moreover, the restructuring of Cuba's economic system that occurred during the political revolution threatened the way of life of those previously established in positions of power and privilege (Portes, 1969).

Irrespective of individual motives, the Cuban immigration of the 1960s and 1970s has been officially perceived by the U.S. government as politically motivated. This perception of Cubans as political refugees has led the U.S. government to develop programs at the federal, state, and local levels to assist Cubans. Immigrants who are perceived as economically motivated, such as Mexicans, have not received a similar level of officially supportive programs as have the political refugees (Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey, 1979). Thus, while the migration motives of individual Cubans may be due to a mixture of political, economic, and social concerns and while this mixture may have changed during the different phases of Cuban migration to this country, the perceived political dimension underlying Cuban immigration must be considered as a factor influencing their adaptation and adjustment to life in the United States.

Related Studies

Before proceeding to an analysis of the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York, we will review several studies of Cuban migrants. This literature review is not meant to be a comprehensive inventory; rather, it highlights research related to the occupational mobility, assimilation, and adjustment of Cubans. Studies of other refugee groups are incorporated to help us better understand the Cuban situation.

Previous refugee flows to the United States from communist political systems are disproportionately heavy with persons from high educational and occupational strata (Stein, 1979; Kunz, 1973). Many of these refugees have lost substantial material assets and, since they are often middle-aged or older when forced to leave, they find it difficult to establish themselves in the same class and occupational strata in the receiving country (Schechtman, 1963; Shuval, 1963; Weinstock, 1963; Kelly, 1977; Liu and Murata, 1977b;

Stein, 1979).

The loss of occupational status is often severe, resulting in dissatisfaction over the lack of opportunity to use skills and knowledge (Murphy, 1955; Cirtautas, 1963; Schechtman, 1963). Recent studies report that Vietnamese refugees in the United States experience feelings of deprivation and loss of prestige (Kelly, 1977; Liu and Murata, 1978a, 1978b; Stein, 1979). They were found to hold low-level initial jobs with few promotion possibilities and little chance to use skills and experience. Reports indicate that mental health problems rooted in the occupational adjustments that Vietnamese refugees have had to make in the United States have already appeared (LIRS *Bulletin*, 1976).

Rogg (1974) and Hernandez (1974) have shown that Cuban refugees tend to be a highly educated group who have experienced extensive downward occupational mobility upon entering the United States. The higher the occupational position of refugees in Cuba, the less the likelihood that they will regain former occupational positions in the United States. Cubans in West New York had predominantly skidded into low occupational positions. Only among Cubans from the lowest occupational positions in Cuba has there been significant upward mobility. Stein (1979) indicates that this pattern of loss from high social class positions and gain from low social class positions found among Cubans is similar to the occupational transitions of other refugee groups in the United States. He argues that the greater economic development of the United States, particularly industrialization combined with occupational training programs and "high transferability of blue collar skills," has made the occupational transitions of many lower class refugees relatively satisfactory.

Prohias and Casal's review (1974) of the few studies done on Cubans does not indicate any massive upward occupational mobility over time, leading them to conclude that there has been considerable underutilization of Cuban skills and resources in the United States. Although most refugees are unable to regain their former occupational status, the educated and younger refugees tend to experience the greatest gains after the initial transition period (Murphy, 1955; Weinstock, 1963, 1964a, 1964b). Montero (1979) expects that high educational levels and prior knowledge of American culture will facilitate rapid socioeconomic advancement among Vietnamese refugees in the United States if combined with English language proficiency and an expanding job market. Despite the massive loss of occupational status among Cubans in the late 1960s, Rogg (1974) anticipated substantial socioeconomic progress among young refugees coming from middle-class positions in Cuba.

Numerous studies (Weitz, 1952; Kornhauser, 1965; Iris and Barrett, 1972) have found a strong correlation between job

satisfaction and life satisfaction. Kornhauser (1965) found that job satisfaction had a "spillover" effect on family attitudes and off-the-job activities. He suggested that poor fit between job requirements and the mental abilities and skills of workers may cause dissatisfaction and mental stress. He also found that workers who were more satisfied with their job reported better overall mental health. The strongest relationship between job satisfaction and mental health was the attribute "chance to use abilities." This factor is related to the mental challenge and the need for psychological growth among workers. Moncarz (1973) noted that among Cubans the transferability of skills is critical to occupational adjustment.

A relationship between migration and mental stress has been reported in several studies (Malzberg and Lee, 1956; Malzberg, 1964, Abramson, 1966; Shoham, Shoham, and Abd-El-Razek, 1966; Chu, 1972). For international migrants, like the Cubans, the stress related to learning and adapting to a new economic environment is compounded by the stress related to learning and adapting to a new cultural environment.

Rogg (1970) and Gil (1968) have analyzed acculturation stresses among the Cuban population of West New York. Second-generation Cubans and young Cubans were adopting American attitudes and behaviors more quickly than first-generation and older Cubans. These differential rates of acculturation created problems within Cuban families as parents felt threatened because their authority was undermined and their values and attitudes were labelled "old-fashioned" by their children. One focal point of tension in West New York in 1968 involved the attempt of parents to enforce the Cuban custom of chaperoning young people on dates (Gil, 1968; Rogg, 1970). Rogg (1974) found that the open expression of intergenerational acculturation tensions was greatest in high occupational status homes, where respondents reported more frequently that their children were requesting them to change their behaviors and attitudes.

Added tensions within the Cuban family result from dramatic changes in the roles of women. In prerevolutionary Cuba, the cultural modality was for women to be protected within the family, but in West New York women are pressured to work in order to improve the economic situation of the family. While less than one-fourth of Cuban wives worked in Cuba, more than one-half were working in West New York in 1968 (Rogg, 1974). Cuban women are, in fact, working in greater proportions than other Hispanic women in the United States (Hernandez, 1974; U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1973; Fitzpatrick and Gurak, 1980).

Rogg (1974) was unable to ascertain whether there were differential rates of assimilation for Cuban males and females in her

1968 study of West New York Cubans. Weinstock (1963) found no difference in assimilation rates between Hungarian male and female refugees. He attributed this finding to the fact that both sexes were working in the United States. Harrison (1974) found that increased access to employment significantly affected the values and attitudes of Cuban refugee women.

Studies of immigrant groups have generally shown that immigrants with higher education and higher occupational achievements are more assimilated. Among Cubans in West New York in 1968, Rogg (1974) found that better educated Cubans were more likely to recognize the need to assimilate than less educated Cubans. While many migrants from both low and high social class backgrounds in Cuba were found in similar occupational positions in West New York in 1968, differences in values and attitudes were present. Cubans from lower social class backgrounds in Cuba tended to believe that the secret of happiness was not to expect too much from life. Cubans from higher social class backgrounds expected much more and were optimistic about eventually using their skills and experience on their jobs. In addition, Cubans from higher social class backgrounds believed that learning English and new skills would improve their economic adaptation, while those from low social class backgrounds felt that their economic adaptation would be improved by higher wages.

On the basis of the above discussion, we suspect that Cubans are experiencing serious stress associated with downward occupational mobility and assimilation. However, in 1968, Cubans living in West New York did not report severe adjustment problems. Expressed satisfaction with their jobs in the United States was high among both refugees able to transfer their skills from Cuba and refugees unable to do so. Although Cubans from higher socioeconomic levels were less likely to be using their skills from Cuba, they were, nevertheless, the most optimistic about eventually using them in the United States. Rogg (1974) suggested that such expressed satisfaction and optimism may have been due in part to the presence of a strong refugee community.

Studies have shown the development of at least two large concentrated communities of Cuban refugees in the United States: one in Miami-Dade County, Florida (University of Miami, 1967) and another in West New York, New Jersey, encompassing a large part of the north section of Hudson County, New Jersey (Gil, 1968; Rogg, 1970). Rogg (1974) found that in 1968 the West New York Cuban community was providing a warm home base, a sense of ethnic identity, and a feeling of belonging for its members. She argued that the community mitigated the danger of social and personality disorganization through primary group support. Respondents reported few problems with physical and mental health,

family disorganization, school dropouts, or juvenile delinquency.

Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) argue that primary group structures have taken on new forms because of dramatic technological changes in modern industrial society. Despite high mobility rates, communities can remain cohesive functioning units if socialization to community ways and acceptance by neighbors take place rapidly. Socialization and acceptance are fastest in communities where initial differences are small. Thus, where new arrivals and older residents share a common linguistic background, culture, and values, indoctrination is speeded up. Such is the case of the refugee community of Cubans in West New York.

In contrast to the positive functions a strong ethnic community may serve, theory suggests that a strong ethnic community may slow down the assimilation of its members in the short run. Time is an important variable here, since Rogg (1974) found that the longer Cubans lived in the United States, the greater their assimilation as reflected in knowledge of English and interest in becoming U.S. citizens. The West New York Cuban community did not appear to be preventing assimilation over time.

The above literature review briefly discussed factors affecting the occupational mobility and assimilation of Cuban migrants. Social characteristics related to these adaptation processes include age, sex, education, and length of residence in the United States. The interrelationship of occupational achievement and mobility with assimilation has also been suggested. While the stress associated with occupational mobility and assimilation may adversely affect the Cuban migrant's sense of well-being, Rogg (1974) found that Cuban migrants in West New York were not experiencing serious adjustment problems, but were predominantly satisfied with their jobs and reported few mental problems. Rogg argued that the presence of a strong ethnic community mitigated the stress associated with occupational mobility and assimilation by providing the Cuban migrant with a sense of identity and support through primary group relationships. In our analysis, we propose to systematically examine factors affecting the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants living in West New York.

The majority of the studies reviewed above rely predominantly on bivariate tables as an analysis strategy; that is, factors affecting adaptation or adjustment are examined taking one variable at a time. For example, the relationship between education and assimilation is examined separately, as is the relationship between occupation and assimilation. Such bivariate tables are a good starting point, but because education and occupation are interrelated, we must control for this interrelationship in order to identify the relatively most important variable affecting the outcome

under study. In our analysis, we adopt a multivariate approach that controls for interrelationships among these variables in order to identify the variable(s) directly and significantly affecting adaptation and adjustment.

The importance of controlling for variable interrelationships is clearly evident in the earlier literature on occupational mobility. To say that persons from the highest status jobs in Cuba are more likely to be downwardly mobile than persons from lower status jobs in Cuba is to state a descriptive fact that then must be systematically analyzed. If this descriptive fact simply tells us that when a person is at the top and experiences change there is nowhere to go but down and when a person is at the bottom and experiences change there is nowhere to go but up, then its usefulness is limited. A systematic assessment of factors affecting occupational change or the effect of occupational change on another variable must control for the initial starting point because the possibilities for change vary according to where one begins. Furthermore, the relationship between occupational mobility and assimilation or adjustment cannot be adequately addressed by examining differences among gross categories of upwardly mobile, non-mobile, and downwardly mobile groups. Such crude categories combine dissimilar occupational positions both in the country of origin and in the present country. A person who is downwardly mobile, for example, can have different combinations of occupational positions in the original country and in the new country. He could have been high in Cuba and low in the United States, or middle class in Cuba and low in the United States, or high in Cuba and middle-class in the United States. Likewise, persons classified as experiencing no mobility come from a variety of class positions. They could have been high in Cuba and high in the United States, middle-class in Cuba and middle-class in the United States, or low in Cuba and low in the United States. Within either of these two examples, we find simultaneously different current occupational positions and different occupational positions in Cuba. This situation creates hopeless confusion because it is impossible to distinguish the effects of current job status on assimilation or adjustment as distinct from any occupational change that may have occurred. Because present job has been found to affect assimilation or adjustment, it is necessary to control for this well-established relationship before we proceed to the question of what independent effect previous job or occupational change may have had on either assimilation or adjustment. It is only through multivariate techniques that control for variable interrelationships that we can begin to untangle the influence of an earlier occupational position from the influence of current job position. A systematic examination of the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York that builds

on earlier work will help to increase our understanding of the Cuban migrant's experience in the United States.

Research Design and Overview

The central purpose of this monograph is to examine the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York. In order to accomplish this goal, all available data on Cubans living in West New York over the past 11 years were obtained and examined. Exploratory conversations were held with informants, Cuban-American leaders and professionals, and West New York officials. Ideally, the research design would have been a panel study where the same respondents from Rogg's 1968 study of West New York would have been traced down and interviewed. However, the time and cost of attempting to trace the original respondents were beyond the resources available for this research. A trend design, with a different sample of the same geographic population of West New York Cubans, was decided upon as a good substitute.

A multi-stage sampling framework was used in selecting the 300 respondents for the current study. Using 1970 Census tract data, we determined the proportion of West New York Cubans living in each of the nine census tracts. This proportion was used to determine the number of respondents to be selected from each census tract. While there was some danger that by 1979 the proportions of Cubans in each census tract had shifted, knowledgeable informants assured the research team that they believed the relative proportions were still approximately correct. The next stage of the sampling design was to number each block in each census tract. It was arbitrarily decided that approximately five respondents should come from each selected block. Blocks in each census tract were then randomly selected with the number of blocks being determined by the number of respondents to be selected from that tract.

Once the blocks were selected, two members of the research team were assigned to locate all Cuban families living on each selected block. Some blocks had to be eliminated when it was discovered that they did not have enough Cuban families living on them or, more rarely, when the Cuban families living on these blocks would not cooperate. If a block was eliminated new blocks were randomly selected as substitutes. All Cuban families on a selected block were located by members of the research team who went door-to-door listing names, addresses, and apartment numbers and who spoke with informants in each building checking the accuracy of their lists. Once all families on a block were listed, each family was assigned a number. The first family was selected randomly and the next four followed systematically. If one of the selected families was unable to

participate, the next family listed after its number was substituted. Thus, we selected 300 families and interviewed either the male or female adult heads. When there was only one adult head present in the household, then that person was interviewed. When there was a choice of male or female heads, both of whom were willing to cooperate, then a toss of the coin determined the choice.

The research team consisted of two field coordinators and ten interviewers. All interviewers were bilingual Hispanics who had been educated in the United States and who were familiar with the West New York area. Most of them were Cubans, lived in the area, and had had previous training in the social sciences. The interview was written in Spanish, with an English translation underneath each question, and administered in Spanish, unless the respondent requested the English version.

The interview schedule, which consisted of 19 sections, took approximately two hours to administer. Interviewers had been trained in several special sessions and had administered trial interviews before going out into the field. Schedules were pre-coded except for some open-ended questions. The data were collected from May to August of 1979.

In the chapters which follow, we will seek to better understand the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants living in West New York. Chapter 2 provides important descriptive information on changes in the Cuban community of West New York. An earlier study of West New York was conducted in 1968 by Eleanor Rogg, co-author of this monograph, and published in 1974 as *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles: The Role of Community and Class*. This study permits us to compare the population and ethnic community characteristics as well as links to the larger society of the West New York Cuban community from 1968 to 1979. It is important to establish whether a strong Cuban community has developed in West New York in order to examine how the degree of integration into a strong ethnic community affects the assimilation and adjustment of Cuban migrants. Chapter 3 describes the occupational histories of Cuban migrants from their last job in Cuba to their first job in the United States through their present job. This description is followed by an analysis of social characteristics affecting occupational mobility: education, sex, age at arrival, and length of residence in the United States. Chapter 4 focuses on the assimilation and adjustment of Cuban migrants. It describes assimilation as reflected in cultural behavior and preferences, English-language ability, and the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. The relationship between assimilation and the Cuban migrant's social characteristics, job history, and integration into the community is then analyzed. Subsequently, we turn to a description of adjustment, as reflected in job satisfaction and reporting of

nervous/emotional problems. The analysis of factors related to adjustment includes the Cuban migrant's social characteristics, job history, integration into the community, and assimilation. Because we know little about the mental health attitudes and behaviors of Cuban migrants, the chapter concludes with a description of these attitudes and behaviors among Cubans in West New York. Chapter 5 summarizes the study's major findings and makes suggestions concerning future research and policy formulation.

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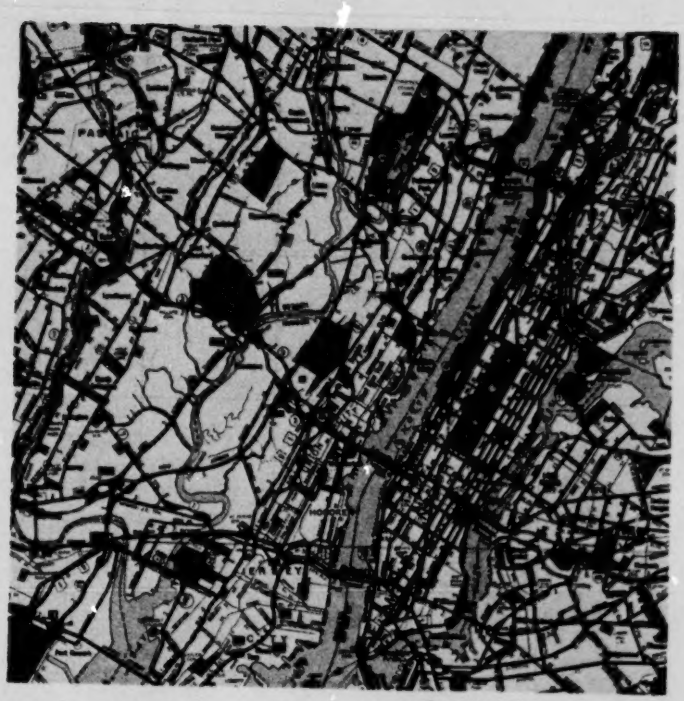
THE CUBAN COMMUNITY IN WEST NEW YORK: 1968-1979

In 1959 a revolutionary government gained power in Cuba. As a consequence of the profound changes instituted by the new regime, a massive exodus of the population took place and the United States became the country of asylum for one of the largest groups of refugees in its recent history. Although the large-scale immigration of Cubans to the United States is a recent phenomenon, Cuban immigrants now constitute the third largest Hispanic group in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979c).

In 1979, the Cuban population residing in the United States was estimated to number 794,000, with 95.8 percent of Cuban families residing in metropolitan areas. Cubans live primarily in the metropolitan area of Miami, the major port of entry for Cuban refugees to the United States. The single largest concentration of Cubans outside of Miami is in the North Section of Hudson County in New Jersey, specifically in the town of West New York which contains the three census tracts with the highest Cuban population densities in Northern New Jersey (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972).

Historically, West New York, New Jersey, has been an area of immigrant settlement. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German immigrants made this town their first home in the United States. Here they built sufficient economic resources to enable them to move on to middle-class suburbs. The Germans were followed by Irish immigrants and later by Italian immigrants. By 1960, census data showed that more than half of West New York's population was made up of foreign stock (Table 1). Foreign stock refers to both the foreign-born population and American-born persons of foreign or mixed foreign-American parents. Of this foreign stock, the single largest group -- more than one-third -- was of Italian descent. There were not enough Cubans present in West New York in 1960 to justify listing them as a separate group in census reports. The Mexican-Americans were the only Hispanic group large enough to be listed separately and even they represented less than 1 percent of the total foreign stock of West New York.



Courtesy of Hagstrom Company, Inc.

Fig. 1. Map location of West New York, New Jersey.

Very shortly after the 1960 Census data were collected, large numbers of Cuban refugees, aided by family, friends, and the Cuban Refugee Resettlement Program, began settling in West New York and surrounding parts of the northern section of Hudson County. By 1970 a little more than one-third of West New York's total population of 40,666 was Cuban, as was more than one-half of the town's total foreign stock. West New York's Spanish-speaking population numbered 17,059, of which 13,733 were Cubans. By 1978, West New York's total population was estimated to be 45,000 of which almost two-thirds were Hispanic with Cubans still constituting the vast majority (Board of Education of West New York, 1978).

The following sections of this chapter compare the characteristics of the West New York Cuban community in 1968 and in 1979. The 1979 data were constructed to maximize comparability with the 1968

TABLE 1
Ethnic Composition of the Population of West New York, New Jersey: 1960-1970
(In percentages)

Origin	1960	1970
U.S.-born of American parentage	47.2	34.0
U.S.-born of foreign or mixed parentage	31.5	22.3
Foreign-born	21.3	43.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Total population in numbers	35,547	40,666
National Origin of Total Foreign-Stock Population[a] (Selected groups only)		
Germany	15.3	5.4
Italy	36.4	16.4
Cuba	--[b]	51.1
Mexico	0.1	0.2
Latin America (excluding Cuba and Mexico)	--[b]	4.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, Tables 72 and 79; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Final Report PC (1)-C32, Table 102.

[a] *Foreign stock refers to both the foreign-born population and American-born persons of foreign or mixed foreign-American parents.*

[b] *Less than 0.1.*

data; however, since the original 1968 data are no longer available, the analysis of change over time is somewhat limited.

Population Characteristics of Cubans in West New York

Between 1968 and 1979, the median age of the Cuban community in West New York increased from 32.9 to 38.9 years (Table 2). At the same time, the sex composition changed so that women now constitute a majority of all Cubans living in West New York. The median household size grew smaller, from 3.23 in 1968 to 3.02 in 1979. The married population dropped sharply between 1968, when almost three-quarters of the Cubans aged 14 years and older were married, and 1979, when less than three-fifths of the same population were married. This decline in the married population was accompanied by a substantial increase in persons experiencing marital disruption who more than doubled over the period, from 4.8 percent of the population to 10.9 percent. The proportion of the population never married also increased, from 20.7 percent to 30.4 percent.

Presently, the Cuban community in West New York includes slightly more females and is slightly older than the total Cuban population in the United States. However, the West New York Cubans live in much smaller households than the total Cuban population in the United States, 3.02 as compared to 3.32, respectively. While Cubans in West New York have levels of marital disruption similar to Cubans in the United States as a whole, they are more likely to have never been married and less likely to be currently married. Compared to the total U.S. population, Cubans in West New York are much older, 38.9 versus 29.8 years, and have much smaller households (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c).

The educational level of the West New York Cuban community has improved. In 1968, 32.5 percent of the population had completed 12 years of formal schooling, while in 1979, 36.3 percent had done so. While the unemployment rate has risen from 4.4 to 4.8, the proportion of Cubans employed in white collar jobs has more than doubled, from .136 to .349. Married Cuban females have maintained a high level of participation in the labor force, increasing their employment rate from 63.2 to 69.6. The proportion of male heads of household in the labor force has declined slightly, but this decline largely reflects retirement. The median household income of Cubans in West New York rose from $6,118 in 1968 to $13,156 in 1979, as a result of inflation, upward mobility, and the increased labor force participation of married females.

Presently, Cubans in West New York have slightly lower white collar employment (34.9 percent) and a much lower percent of high

TABLE 2
Population Characteristics of West New York Cubans: 1968-1979

Characteristics[a]	1968	1979
Median Age	32.9	38.9
Sex (Percent Female)	48.5	53.9
Median Household Size	3.23	3.02
Marital Status[b] (Percent)		
Never Married	20.7	30.4
Married	74.5	58.7
Divorced	0.4	4.2
Widowed	1.8	4.4
Separated	2.6	2.3
Education[c] (Percent)		
High School Graduates	32.5	36.3
Labor Force		
Unemployment Rate[b]	4.4	4.8
White Collar Jobs[b] (Percent)	13.6	34.9
Married Female Participation Rate[b]	63.2	69.6
Male Head of Household Participation Rate	90.4	87.0
Median Household Income	$6,118	$13,156

[a] *Characteristics are based on all household members or households unless otherwise stated.*

[b] *Characteristics are based on age group 14 and over.*

[c] *Characteristics are based on age group 21 and over.*

school graduates (36.3 percent) than Cubans in the total United States (39.9 percent and 49.1 percent, respectively). In contrast to these comparisons, Cubans in West New York have much lower rates of employment than Cubans in the total United States, 4.8 as compared to 8.7 percent. Compared to the total population of the United States, the Cuban community in West New York has a dramatically lower educational level: 36.3 percent are high school graduates compared to 66.3 percent for the total U.S. population. White collar employment is also lower: 34.9 percent for the Cubans in West New York and 51.9 percent for the total U.S. population.

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However, Cubans in West New York have lower unemployment rates than the total U.S. population, 4.8 and 6.1 percent, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979a, 1979b, 1979c).

Ethnic Community Characteristics of West New York

Long before the Cuban Revolution of 1959, Cuban immigrants had settled in various parts of Hudson County, New Jersey. However, large-scale Cuban immigration into the United States did not begin until after the Cuban Refugee Program was instituted in February 1961. This program was instrumental in resettling refugees away from the Miami area. Almost half of the West New York Cubans in 1968 had come directly to West New York only hours after arrival in Miami.

West New York Cubans have a common place of origin: they come predominantly from the Cuban provinces of Havana and Las Villas. The main reason they came to West New York was because they had friends and relatives living there. These Cubans, in turn, helped other family members come to the United States. Thus, the original migratory family groups maintained links with the members of their family in Cuba and developed new links with their Cuban neighbors and friends in West New York.

The Catholic Church became the key secondary ethnic institution for Cubans living in West New York. Originally, religiously oriented agencies administered the Cuban Refugee Program which resettled Cubans in West New York. The local Roman Catholic parish -- which provided Spanish masses and Spanish-speaking clergy -- was one of the few voluntary organizations to which most Cubans in West New York belonged and appeared to be a center of Cuban self-identity and community life. Formal voluntary participation in other ethnic organizations was low in 1968.

Thus, in 1968 a young ethnic community was developing among Cubans in West New York. The strength and viability of an ethnic community can be evaluated along many dimensions. In Rogg's 1968 study of West New York, six factors facilitating and reflecting the development of a Cuban ethnic community were investigated: (1) the establishment of a geographical community base linked to Cuban population concentration and length of residence; (2) a common place of origin and common linguistic background; (3) the extent of primary group interaction; (4) the existence of a mutual help and support system; (5) the presence of Cuban ethnic organizations and leaders; and (6) similar religious beliefs. How does the West New York Cuban community in 1979 compare with the community in 1968? We will now examine each of the six factors in turn.

1. *Geographical community base*

The West New York Cuban community is an artificial statistical aggregate created by political boundaries. The geographical base of the Cuban community extends well beyond West New York's borders into the neighboring townships of Hudson County, particularly into Union City on West New York's southern border. Bergenline Avenue, the main shopping street of this area, extends from Union City in the south, through West New York, and well beyond its northern border through Guttenberg. Thus, Cuban residents of these towns share the same shopping areas. Similarly, they share two of the Roman Catholic churches in the area whose parish borders criss-cross political boundaries.

In 1979 the Cuban community was firmly established in West New York. In 1968, 70.3 percent of the Cubans had lived in West New York for less than four years, while in 1979 only 12.9 percent had lived there for less than four years. Indeed, by 1979, more than half of the Cubans had lived in West New York for ten or more years (Table 3). Residential stability is an important factor in promoting community development because it reflects a permanency of settlement that encourages the residents to take an interest in their local surroundings.

Miami was the port of entry to the United States for 70.1 percent of the Cubans in West New York; 27.2 percent had entered through

TABLE 3
Length of Residence of Cubans in West New York: 1968-1979
(In percentages)

Residence in West New York	1968	1979
Less than 1 year	14.6	3.4
1 to 2 years	22.1	0.9
2 to 4 years	33.6	8.6
4 to 6 years	12.0	9.5
6 to 10 years	13.3	25.9
10 years or more	4.4	51.7
Total	100.0	100.0

New York City. Over 80 percent had lived in their port of entry for less than one month. Half moved directly to West New York after leaving their port of entry and another quarter moved to different parts of New Jersey before coming to West New York. A much smaller group left Miami for New York City before settling down in West New York. There is little evidence to indicate much movement back and forth between Miami and West New York as some scholars have hypothesized. Fewer than 3 percent of the sample moved or returned to Miami after leaving their port of entry. Only 1.7 percent had lived in Miami before their present address in West New York, and only another 1.3 percent had lived in some other part of Florida. Over three-fourths of Cubans in our sample reported that they had come to West New York to stay. A minority wanted to return to Cuba, move elsewhere, or were undecided about what to do. When asked about their residence plans for the next five years, 79.7 percent stated they would remain in West New York. Only 7.3 percent indicated a desire to move to Florida mainly because they wanted a better climate (71 percent), to be near family (58.1 percent) or to be near friends (54.8 percent).

Almost 90 percent of the Cubans thought of West New York as their real home. The tranquility of the town and the fact that they had families living there and that everything was within walking distance were the aspects that Cubans most liked about life in West New York. What they liked least about life in West New York was the climate and the fact that their families lived elsewhere. When asked why they had decided to live in West New York the most frequent responses were that they had family there (63.1 percent), they wanted to live in a better neighborhood (48.5 percent), and they valued the presence of a good Cuban community (43.3 percent). Two-thirds of the Cubans agreed with the statement "I prefer to live in neighborhoods where there are many Cubans."

Thus, the geographic base of the Cuban community was more firmly established in 1979 than in 1968. The presence of relatives, friends, and a "good Cuban community" acted as magnets drawing even more Cubans into the area.

2. *Common place of origin*

In 1968, 56 percent of West New York Cubans had lived in a large city as a child, but by 1979 slightly more West New York Cubans had lived in a small city or town as a child. About 70 percent of the 1968 Cuban residents were born in the provinces of Havana or Las Villas, and slightly more than this percent spent their childhood in these provinces. Havana was the most common place

of birth and childhood residence in 1968, but Las Villas had taken the lead in 1979, with more of the recent Cuban residents in West New York coming from that province (Table 4). The Spanish spoken by the Cubans remains heavily flavored with the idiomatic expressions and intonations of Las Villas and Havana.

TABLE 4
Geographic Origin of Cubans in West New York: 1968-1979
(In percentages)

Geographic Origin	1968	1979
Birthplace		
Havana	43.2	26.9
Las Villas	26.8	40.0
Province Raised In		
Havana	43.4	32.8
Las Villas	29.2	37.1
Childhood Residence		
Large City	56.0	39.7
Small City or Town	32.7	42.2
Country Village or Farm	11.3	18.1
Total	100.0	100.0

3. *Primary group interaction*

Primary group interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives is an important feature of Cuban life in West New York. In 1968, 84.4 percent of Cubans indicated that the presence of family and friends in West New York was a main reason for their decision to live there (Table 5). In 1979 the importance of earlier-arriving family and friends had declined somewhat, but still the Cubans predominantly claimed that the presence of family and friends was a key factor in deciding to live in West New York. More than three-quarters of the Cubans in 1979 had relatives in the United States before they came; a majority – 60.3 percent – had relatives who had come to the United States after they did.

TABLE 5
Primary Group Interaction of West New York Cubans with Family, Friends, and Neighbors: 1968-1979
(In percentages)

Primary Group Interaction	1968	1979
Main Reason Came to West New York		
Family and Friends	84.4	74.1
Cubans Who Have—In West New York		
Children	76.8	72.4
Parent(s) and/or Parent(s) In Law	19.0	31.9
Siblings	30.2	25.0
Cuban Friends	97.2	69.0
Cubans Who Talk Once a Week or More With:		
Cuban Friends in West New York[a]		88.7
Neighbors in West New York[a]		76.1

[a] *Information was not available for 1968.*

Almost 33 percent of the Cubans had parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law living in West New York; 50 percent had parental relatives still in Cuba; and 13 percent had parental relatives who were either dead or living elsewhere in the United States. A large proportion of this 13 percent had relatives living nearby in other parts of Hudson County; few lived in Florida or elsewhere. Similar percentages of West New York Cubans (72.4 percent) had adult children in the West New York area in both 1968 and 1979. While not as strong a pattern as for children, 25 percent of the Cubans reported that they had siblings living in West New York, and 45.6 percent reported having at least one other relative (other than the parental relatives already mentioned) living in the area. Over two-thirds of the Cubans in 1979 reported having friends in West New York. This figure, in contrast to the continued high concentration of relatives in the area, represents a noticeable decline from 1968.

Interaction rates with relatives living in West New York are high. Telephoning or getting together at least once a week or more was characteristic of one-half of the Cuban residents' relationships with mother and father and of one-third of the relationships with mother-in-law and father-in-law. More than one-fourth of the

Cubans interacted at least once a week or more with a sibling. Interaction rates were particularly high between parents and children not living at home. Over three-fourths of the Cubans who had at least one child not living at home reported interacting by telephone or getting together with at least one such child once a week or more. Reported interaction with neighbors and friends (who are not relatives) was also very high: 71.6 percent and 88.7 percent of the Cubans reported talking to neighbors and friends, respectively, at least once a week or more.

4. *Mutual support and help*

Although the overall level of Cuban community support and help declined between 1968 and 1979, the level remained high in 1979. In 1968, almost 80 percent of the Cubans credited family and Cuban friends with helping them most in adjusting to life in West New York (Table 6). Primary ethnic community support was far more important for adjustment than secondary government and agency help. In 1979 more than half of the Cubans were still reporting that family and Cuban friends had helped most in their adjustment to life in West New York. Two interesting changes, however, appeared. There were noticeable increases in the categories of "other" and "other friends." Some 37.7 percent of the Cubans indicated "other" as their choice in response to this question, with the vast majority of these persons responding "myself" in the open-ended answers given after the choice of the "other" category. This answer was particularly frequent for Cubans who had been living in West New York for more than 10 years. This shift may suggest that primary ethnic community support was particularly helpful for these Cubans during their initial arrival and adjustment phases, but as time passed, individualism, a strong Cuban trait, asserted itself. The second change may indicate some structural assimilation. Some 9.6 percent of the Cubans indicated non-Cuban "other" friends as having helped them adjust most to life in West New York.

When asked what kinds of help they had received, Cuban community support remained high in all areas. More than half (53.3 percent) of Cuban respondents in 1968 credited family or friends with helping the male respondent or male spouse find work and 61.6 percent the female respondent or female spouse find work. By 1979, 61.9 percent of respondents credited family or friends with helping the male respondent or spouse find work, and 52.9 percent the female respondent or female spouse find work. Fewer males received government or private help in finding employment: 10.3 percent in 1968 and 3.1 percent in 1979. Among females, however, there was an increase in

TABLE 6
Source of Help in Adjusting, Finding Work, and Finding Housing: 1968-1979
(In percentages)

Source of Help	1968	1979
Who most helped respondent adjust to life in West New York?		
Family	51.8	37.8
Cuban friends	27.9	14.9
Other friends	0.0	9.6
Government or agency	1.7	0.0
Other--myself	18.6	37.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Who helped male respondent or male spouse find work?		
No help, myself	36.3	23.3
Government or agency	10.3	3.1
Family or friends	53.3	61.9
Other	0.1	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Who helped female respondent or female spouse find work?		
No help, myself	34.4	34.5
Government or agency	1.6	4.5
Family or friends	61.6	52.9
Other	2.4	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Who helped respondent find apartment?		
No help, myself	46.4	21.8
Government or agency	0.0	12.6
Family or friends	53.2	55.6
Newspapers	0.0	7.0
Other	0.4	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0

the proportion receiving government or private agency help in finding employment: 1.6 percent in 1968 and 4.5 percent in 1979. Government and private agency help increased in terms of finding housing. While no Cubans indicated government or private agency help in finding an apartment in 1968, by 1979, 12.6 percent had received such aid.

Help, of course, can be of many types. This study measured such types as financial, goods, lend-a-hand, advice or orientation, and counseling. Table 7 summarizes the Cubans' perception of the overall level of help and support that they gave to and received from primary ethnic community sources in the past year. In all cases there was a greater proportion of Cubans acknowledging giving help than receiving it. Nevertheless, there is a clear pattern of mutual help and support, not only among immediate family, but also among friends, neighbors, and co-workers.

The only question directly comparable between 1968 and 1979 concerned financial aid given to family members. Little change had occurred. Seventy-four percent of the Cubans said they had financially aided one or more relatives living in the United States in 1968, and 70.7 percent so claimed in 1979.

TABLE 7
Help and Support Given by and Received from Primary Ethnic Community Sources, West New York Cuban Community: 1978-1979
(In percentages)

Source	Received	Gave
Parents	23.6	63.8
Children	27.7	84.0
In-laws	21.2	43.2
Siblings	22.1	46.6
Other relatives	17.0	26.0
Friends	30.6	51.0
Neighbors	22.8	36.7
Co-workers	24.2	39.8
Clergy	25.0	26.1
Godparents	15.8	17.2

5. *Organizational participation*

Formal voluntary participation in ethnic organizations -- low in 1968 -- has increased only slightly. In a list of 15 types of West New York groups, shown in Table 8, in which Cubans might hold membership, only three -- fraternal lodges, card-domino playing groups, and country clubs -- were identified by the Cubans as being composed predominantly of Cubans or a combination of Cubans and other Hispanics. Very few Cubans, however, were members of these ethnic organizations.

TABLE 8
Cuban Membership in West New York Voluntary Associations: 1979

Types of Voluntary Associations	Percent
Fraternal Lodge	5.0
Civic Group	1.7
Professional Business Group	2.0
Labor Union	24.0
Youth Organization	0.7
Commu[illegible]Center	1.0
Neighborhood Association	0.7
Card-Domino Club	2.0
Sports-Team Club	3.0
Country Club	3.3
Political Club	1.0
Charity Organization	2.7
School Group Member	1.0
Parent-Teacher Association	10.7
Church-affiliated Group	5.7
Other	1.0

In 1979 one-quarter of the Cubans belonged to a labor union. Membership of the labor unions tended to be ethnically mixed: "Americans" were reported to be the numerical majority, followed by Cubans and other Hispanics. Similarly, the parent-teacher

associations, to which 10.7 percent of the Cubans belonged, were ethnically mixed. Thus, voluntary participation in Cuban ethnic organizations does not appear to be high at this time. Furthermore, nowhere in the study was a particular ethnic group or person discovered who could be identified as providing a central base for unified leadership of the West New York Cuban community.

Data on membership in voluntary organizations and groups for the total U.S. population in 1975 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977) show that Cuban participation is higher only for labor-union membership (24 percent for Cubans versus 16 percent for the total U.S. population). The blue collar jobs in which Cubans are concentrated are more likely to be unionized than the white collar jobs in which Americans are employed. Although Cuban participation in voluntary organizations is low compared to the total U.S. population, these data do not reveal whether these differences are related to the considerably lower educational and occupational achievements of the Cubans.

6. *Religious participation*

The primary voluntary ethnic organization remains the Church. While 91.5 percent of the Cubans were Roman Catholic in 1968, 78.2 percent were Roman Catholic in 1979 (Table 9). The percent of Cubans reporting no religious preference in 1979 shows a substantial increase from 1968: 11.3 as compared to 1.2. Church attendance patterns also declined, with many more Cubans going to church only a few times a year or not going at all. However, about equal proportions of Cubans were still attending church once a week or more: 39.5 percent in 1968 and 36.3 percent in 1979.

While church attendance has declined, the expressed importance of religion for Cubans did not decrease as significantly. Religion was very important to 75 percent of Cubans in both 1968 and 1979, as compared to only 56 percent of the total U.S. population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977).

Cuban Community Links to American Society

In 1968 the Cuban community in West New York was beginning to develop links with other parts of American society. Through these links it could be expected that new ideas, values, and cultural patterns would flow back and forth affecting all groups involved (Warren, 1963). Four major links were examined in the original 1968 study of West New York: (1) occupation, (2) education, (3)

TABLE 9
Religious Preference, Importance, and Participation of Cubans in West New York: 1968-1979 (In percentages)

	1968	1979
Religious Preference		
Roman Catholic	91.5	78.3
Protestant	6.9	6.1
Other	0.4	4.3
No preference	1.2	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Importance of Religion		
Very important	75.1	73.0
Somewhat important	20.8	17.0
Little or no importance	4.1	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Church Attendance		
Once a week or more	39.5	36.3
Once a month	39.5	10.8
Several times a year	14.0	22.5
A few times a year	2.0	10.8
Never	5.0	19.6
Total	100.0	100.0

government, and (4) recreation. Each of these areas will be examined in turn.

1. *Occupational links*

In 1968, 40.7 percent of West New York Cubans were working in jobs with few or no Cubans (Table 10). Those Cubans who worked predominantly with Americans showed higher acculturation rates

than Cubans who were ethnically enclosed at work. Thus, occupation was possibly operating as a major link between Cubans and American society as reflected in the West New York community.

TABLE 10
Cuban Co-Workers of West New York Cubans: 1968-1979

Percentage of Co-Workers who are Cuban	1968	1979
Most to All	59.3	30.8
Half to Some	0.0	29.9
Few	35.9	31.8
None	4.8	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0

In 1979, a similar percentage of Cubans worked in settings with few or no Cubans. A significant change, however, had occurred in the percentage of Cubans working in ethnically enclosed settings which dropped from 59.3 to 30.8 percent. More West New York Cubans were working in jobs where only half or some of their co-workers are Cuban. A majority of the Cubans reported that they worked predominantly with non-Hispanic co-workers in settings where they are, thus, exposed to the attitudes and values of the larger American society.

2. *Educational links*

Approximately 70 percent of the Cubans in West New York have children who were attending school in both 1968 and 1979. In both years, Cuban children attended mainly public schools (84.5 percent), as opposed to parochial (9.7 percent) or other private schools (5.8 percent). The proportion of Cuban and Hispanic students in the West New York public schools increased considerably over the past decade from approximately one-third to three-fourths of the student

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body, reflecting the growing numbers of Cubans and Hispanics in West New York (Board of Education of West New York, 1978). Despite the influx of Cubans into the public school system, when Cubans were asked how many of their children's classmates were Cuban, the proportion answering "most to all" had declined (Table 11).

TABLE 11
Cuban Classmates and Friends of West New York Cuban Children: 1968-1979

Percentage Cuban	1968	1979
Classmates:		
Most to All	68.0	57.0
Half to Some	30.0	33.3
Few	2.0	9.7
None	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Friends:		
Most to All	83.4	63.1
Half to Some	14.6	34.9
Few	2.0	1.9
None	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Ethnically enclosed friendship patterns were more noticeable in 1968 than in 1979. The percentage reporting that most to all of their children's friends were Cuban dropped from 83.4 to 63.1. Structural assimilation appears to be increasing, although the substantial majority of Cuban children are still within ethnically enclosed friendship networks.

Students receiving government aid, scholarships, and loans over the past 11 years have increased from 6.7 to 14.7 percent, reflecting a rise in college attendance and expenses. Some 83 percent of the Cubans in 1968 stated they wanted their children to attend college, as compared to 98.5 percent who wanted a college education for

their children in 1979.

At the same time, the proportion of Cubans who had one or more of their children drop out of school increased noticeably from 4 percent in 1968 to 17.3 percent in 1979. The three major reasons given for dropping out of school were: the family needed money, the student did not see the importance of school, or the student did not like school. Only 1.2 percent of the Cubans mentioned problems with their children in school in 1968, while 11.7 percent mentioned school problems in 1979.

Cuban parents remain worried about their children adopting American ways of life. In 1979, 46.1 percent said they did not want their children to have the freedom of American children, similar to the 44.6 percent who mentioned too much freedom for children in 1968. In 1979, 69.1 percent of Cuban parents believed that unmarried girls should be chaperoned by older persons when dating a young man. Although this represents a decline from 84 percent in the 1968 study, chaperoning remains a traditional attitude shared by the majority of Cuban parents.

3. *Governmental links*

None of the Cubans were U.S. citizens in 1968; 44 percent wanted to become citizens; 33.9 percent did not want to become citizens; and 22 percent did not know what to do. In 1979, however, 40.3 percent of the Cubans were U.S. citizens; 43.7 percent wanted to become citizens; 6 percent did not want to become citizens; and 10 percent did not know what to do. Thus, those who were uncertain about formally changing their political allegiance declined considerably over the decade, from 55.9 to 16 percent.

Cubans have taken their citizenship rights very seriously as reflected in their high levels of voting registration and turnout. Among Cubans eligible to vote, 84.3 percent reported registering to vote, as opposed to only 62.6 percent for the total eligible voting-age population of the United States in 1978. Cubans also report voting at exceptionally high levels: 69.2 percent in national elections and 70.2 percent in municipal elections. For Americans of voting age, the highest turnouts are for Presidential elections, with Congressional and municipal elections drawing noticeably fewer voters. But even if we compare the self-reported voter turnout of the total American population for the Presidential election in 1976 -- 59.2 percent -- the Cubans' political involvement is high (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979a). The high political interest of Cubans as compared to Americans is even more remarkable given their lower educational and occupational achievements.

When asked whether there is a place, group, or person in West New York to help people deal with public agencies and city offices, 27.4 percent of the Cubans said yes. Of those answering yes, 35.7 percent mentioned West New York's Office of Community Relations; 21.4 percent mentioned the mayor by name; 23.8 percent, some other government office; 9.5 percent, the Church; 7.1 percent, the North Hudson Community Action Program; and 2.4 percent, the police.

In 1968 the primary links between the Cuban community and the government of West New York were through services provided by the welfare, police, housing, and health departments. Cubans did not have much contact with these agencies and informants from these departments reported good relationships with the Cuban community. While no Hispanics were on the West New York Police Force in 1968, there are now eight men of Hispanic origin and a growing proportion of the police force has some working knowledge of Spanish.

Of the Cubans who were unemployed during 1978-79, 45.7 percent reported receiving unemployment benefits, 25.7 percent reported relying on the earnings of other family members, and 8.6 percent relied on savings. The total unemployment rate for Cubans in 1979 was 4.8 percent. However, when asked whether they had been unemployed during the past year, 18.9 percent of the Cubans responded yes. The two major reasons why they were without work were layoff (48.6 percent) and sickness (29.7 percent). Other sources of financial assistance reported by the Cubans in 1979 include: Social Security benefits (20.7 percent), Old Age Assistance (5.7 percent), Aid to Dependent Children (2.7 percent), and General Welfare Assistance (9 percent).

While 80.9 percent of West New York Cubans lived in houses with more than five apartments in 1968, only 43.6 percent did so in 1979; 7.1 percent were living in one-family homes and another 27.7 percent were living in 2- to 4-family homes. Almost all the 1968 respondents were renting, but by 1979, 19 percent owned their own homes, at a median price of $60,000. In 1968 most Cubans did not qualify for public housing since they were not U.S. citizens, but since then substantial proportions of their residents are now Cuban.

More than half the Cubans reported visiting a doctor in both 1968 and 1979. However, fewer people had a good opinion of West New York's medical services. Cubans saying good or excellent dropped from 90.2 percent in 1968 to 78.2 percent in 1979. Those living in West New York less than a decade have a more positive image of health services than those living here for more than a decade. Large proportions of West New York Cubans use the town's health clinic; but when questioned about preferences, Cubans prefer private doctors whom they see as more knowledgeable.

4. *Recreational links*

Ethnic recreational activities abound in West New York and surrounding areas. The Hispanic community of New Jersey and nearby New York is large enough to support a network of Spanish television and radio programs, Spanish newspapers and magazines, and Spanish film houses. In 1968, 95 percent of the Cubans in West New York owned at least one television set, and by 1979 almost one-fourth owned two or more televisions. While more than two-thirds of Cubans were watching Spanish programs most or all of the time in 1968, only one-fourth were watching these programs in 1979 (Table 12).

TABLE 12
Television and Reading Language-Usage of West New York Cubans: 1968-1979
(In percentages)

Language Usage	1968	1979
Television		
Spanish mostly or all the time	66.8	25.8
English mostly or ali the time	17.0	50.0
Both	10.8	23.3
No answer	5.4	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0
Reading Materials		
Spanish mostly or all the time	66.4	58.6
English mostly or all the time	17.6	18.1
Both	8.8	20.7
No answer	7.2	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0

A similar but less profound change was found for reading materials, perhaps reflecting the fact that for many people it is easier to understand the spoken rather than the written word. For

example, in 1979, 63.5 percent of the Cubans reported that their English was average or better when they try to understand the spoken word, but only 50.1 percent reported their English was average or better when they try to read it. Local newspapers, like the *Hudson Dispatch*, provide a special section written in Spanish, encouraging the West New York residents to read in both languages.

Summary

This chapter examined changes in the Cuban community of West New York from 1968 to 1979. The vitality of the Cuban community, as measured by factors facilitating and promoting community development, appears strong. The majority of Cubans in West New York have lived there for over a decade, reflecting a permanency and stability in their settlement pattern. High proportions of Cuban residents still come from similar geographic and religious backgrounds and the concentration of relatives in the area remains high. West New York Cubans still predominantly credit family and Cuban friends with helping their adjustment to West New York. Mutual help and support systems extend beyond the immediate family to include friends, neighbors, and co-workers. In contrast to the above patterns consistent with the development of a strong community, the level of involvement in Cuban ethnic organizations continues to be low.

Links with the larger American society are growing slowly. More Cubans are working in settings with non-Hispanics, although a third are still concentrated in ethnically enclosed work situations. A similar pattern of change is evident among children's classmates, but the present level of ethnic enclosure is much higher. Over one-half of the children go to schools with predominantly Cuban classmates. However, the highest level of integration with the larger society does not appear in either of these social contexts, but in the recreational area. Over one-half of West New York Cubans watch mostly English television programs. Thus, television continues to function as an important avenue through which Cubans are exposed to the language, attitudes, values, and customs of U.S. society.

The most surprising finding is the high level of political involvement, reflected in voting registration and turnout among Cubans who have become citizens and who are thus eligible to vote. In spite of lower educational and occupational levels -- factors that are associated with lower political activity -- the level of Cuban political interest and activity exceeds that of the total U.S. population. This expression of political interest, however, has not yet been reflected in the development of ethnic political organizations or in large numbers of Cubans joining existing

political organizations. Given the high and growing proportion of Cubans in the West New York population, Cubans may become an important political force as the number acquiring U.S. citizenship increases. Indeed, the data indicate that the proportion of Cubans who are citizens will continue to grow. Of those Cubans who are not currently citizens, over one-fourth have applied for citizenship and an additional one-half want to do so.

3

Occupational Mobility

While Cubans coming to the United States may be predominantly motivated by political considerations, their migration entails much more than a change of political systems. Initially, they must seek jobs in order to provide for their basic needs and end dependency on family, friends, or government agencies. Such initial changes are a prelude to the longer processes of building a new life for themselves in a new country. Socioeconomic factors provide one dimension along which the "success" of this adaptation can be evaluated. The effects of the occupational achievements of Cubans in the United States extend beyond their working hours and include access to quality health care, quality housing, and quality education for their children, and influence even the types of leisure activities they pursue.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the occupational mobility patterns among Cuban migrants in West New York from their last jobs in Cuba to their first jobs in the United States through their present jobs. This description of mobility patterns will be followed by an analysis of how the migrant's social characteristics, such as sex, education, age at arrival, and length of residence in the United States, relate to these important occupational transitions.

Occupational Mobility Patterns

By focusing upon the occupational mobility patterns of West New York Cubans from their last job in Cuba to their present job in the United States, we will shift our attention from characteristics of the total sample of West New York Cubans -- which was the focus in Chapter 2 -- to West New York Cubans who worked in Cuba and who are also presently employed. Even with these restrictions, this occupational sample comprises a majority of the larger sample. Seventy percent of the total sample are currently working, and of

these 88 percent also worked in Cuba. The single largest group of persons excluded from this analysis are housewives who are not currently working or who never worked in Cuba. Also excluded are a much smaller group of first generation Cubans who left Cuba either at a very young age or at a very old age. The youngest have no work experience in Cuba, while the oldest have retired since coming to the United States.

If we systematically compare the present occupational status and social characteristics of our restricted occupational sample with the total sample, as shown in Table 13, we see clearly that the most noticeable difference between the two samples is sex. Women

TABLE 13
Present Occupational Status and Social Characteristics of Occupational Sample Compared to Total Sample, Cubans in West New York

Variables	Samples	
	Occupational *(N = 185)*	Total *(N = 300)*
Present Occupational Status Score		
$\bar{X}$[a]	41.8	40.8
SD[b]	24.6	25.2
Social Characteristics		
Education (Years)		
$\bar{X}$	9.3	9.1
SD	4.2	4.1
Age at Arrival (Years)		
$\bar{X}$	38.1	35.9
SD	11.4	13.9
Years in U.S.		
$\bar{X}$	12.1	12.3
SD	5.3	5.4
Sex (Percent Female)	44.9	61.3

[a] *Mean.*

[b] *Standard Deviation.*

constitute a much larger proportion of the total sample than the occupational sample. With the exception of sex, however, the occupational sample is similar to the total sample in present occupational status, education, age at arrival, and duration in the United States. These comparisons, therefore, substantiate that we are not focusing on an extremely divergent segment of the West New York community.

Although the occupational distribution of Cubans prior to migration to the United States ranges from domestic servants and farm laborers to lawyers and accountants, the majority of migrants were in white collar jobs, as shown in Table 14. Twenty-six percent came from the highest status occupational groups -- professionals and managers -- with another 30 percent coming from sales and clerical work. Although the majority of these migrants left Cuba

TABLE 14
Occupational Distribution of Cubans Employed in Cuba and in the United States, West New York
(In percentages)

Occupational Groups	Last Job in Cuba	First Job in U.S.	Present Job in U.S.
Professionals	16.3	2.9	7.5
Managers	9.7	0.0	8.8
Sales Workers	9.7	4.1	4.8
Clerical Workers	20.1	6.5	9.5
Craftsmen	7.0	4.7	8.8
Operatives	16.2	56.5	43.6
Laborers	8.1	9.4	4.8
Farm Workers	5.9	0.0	0.0
Service Workers	6.5	15.3	12.2
Private Household Workers	0.5	0.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupational Status Score			
Mean	46.9	29.4	41.8
Standard Deviation	26.8	18.4	24.6

between 1962 and 1972, the percentage of Cubans coming from white collar jobs during that period is higher than the current percentage of the total workforce in such jobs in the United States (56 percent versus 52 percent). The high concentration of migrants from white collar jobs in Cuba is consistent with Fagan *et al.*'s study (1968) which found that even higher proportions of the earliest Cuban refugees had come from white collar jobs: 68 percent of the Cuban refugees registered with the Cuban Refugee Center in Dade County during 1961-1962 reported white collar jobs in Cuba. Later phases of Cuban immigration have included higher proportions of blue collar workers.

The occupational position of Cuban migrants changed substantially after entering the United States. Over two-thirds of the Cubans reported initial jobs as either semiskilled operatives or unskilled laborers. The percentage holding professional and managerial jobs dropped from 26 to 6; the percentage holding sales and clerical jobs dropped from 30 to 11. Regardless of the numbers chosen for comparison, it is clear that the first jobs of Cubans in the United States were of much lower status than the jobs they left behind in Cuba. Moreover, the range of initial jobs was very limited. Over 56 percent first worked in semiskilled operative jobs; thus, regardless of their occupational position in Cuba, the majority of Cuban migrants in West New York shared a common initial work experience in the United States.

The difficulties of adapting to a new culture and society were, therefore, compounded by the personal and social hardships associated with downward occupational mobility. However, the Cubans in West New York are no longer new arrivals: they have lived over a decade in the United States. The bleak picture painted by the transition from last job in Cuba to first job in the United States has brightened. The occupational transition from first job in the United States to present job reflects notable upward mobility. The percentage of professionals and managers has increased from 3 to 16 and the percentage of sales and clerical workers has risen from 11 to 14. The proportion of Cuban migrants holding white collar jobs has more than doubled since they first arrived. Compared to their former occupational position in Cuba or to the occupational distribution of the total U.S. population, the proportion of Cuban migrants in white collar jobs is modest, but these gains are, nevertheless, encouraging.

Another way to look at the occupational mobility process is to focus on specific occupations rather than on the broad occupational categories we have just examined. Broad occupational categories hide the considerable diversity of occupations within each category. For example, the professional category includes such high status jobs as doctor, college teacher, and lawyer, as well as such lower status

professional jobs as high school teacher, X-ray technician, and radio/television announcers. Thus, if a doctor is only able to find work as an X-ray technician, or a college teacher is only able to find work as a high school teacher, these declines in occupational status would be missed by focusing on the professional occupational category as a whole.

Occupational status scores[1] represent the relative ranking of specific occupations in terms of the education and earnings of the workers in those jobs. Because occupational status scores are assigned to specific jobs they more accurately reflect changes in jobs that occur within the ten major occupational categories shown in Table 14. While we are aware that assigning occupational status scores based on the U.S. labor force to occupations in Cuba entails a certain risk, no comparable data based on specific occupations in Cuba are available to our knowledge. Cross-national studies have generally found a high degree of comparability between occupational rankings in different countries; thus, the assigning of such scores to Cuban occupations represents a reasonable approximation of the status hierarchy (Treiman, 1977).

As shown in Table 15, over 52 percent of the Cuban migrants experienced moderate or high downward mobility in the initial occupational transition from last job in Cuba to first job in the United States, with an additional 11 percent experiencing slight downward occupational mobility. Very few Cubans improved their occupational position by coming to the United States. Thus, the finding of extreme downward mobility resulting from a comparison of broad occupational categories among West New York Cubans as a group is reinforced by the change in specific occupational positions experienced by individual Cubans.

After arrival in the United States, a substantial minority, almost 46 percent, were able to improve their occupational position. Another 43 percent remained occupationally stable with only 12 percent experiencing declines in occupational position. Although the occupational transition from first job in the United States to present job is characterized almost equally by occupational stability and upward mobility, the fact that in little over a decade 46 percent of Cuban migrants have been upwardly mobile and 26 percent have experienced high upward mobility is encouraging. This favorable occupational adaptation within the United States, however, still falls short of the occupational levels held by the migrants in Cuba. Compared to their last job in Cuba, a substantial minority -- 47 percent -- remains downwardly mobile.

[1] Detailed information on the occupational status scores may be found in Nam *et al.*, 1975, and Powers and Holmberg, 1978.

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TABLE 15
Change in Occupational Status Scores of Cubans Employed in Cuba and in the United States, West New York
(In percentages)

Difference in Occupational Status Scores	From Last Job in Cuba To First Job in U.S.	From First Job in U.S. To Present Job	From Last Job in Cuba To Present Job
High Upward Mobility (+26 or higher)	7.1	25.9	17.0
Moderate Upward Mobility (+16 to +25)	4.1	12.2	4.8
Slight Upward Mobility (+6 to +15)	8.2	7.5	8.2
Stable Occupational Status (-5 to +5)	17.6	42.9	23.1
Slight Downward Mobility (-6 to -15)	10.6	4.8	11.6
Moderate Downward Mobility (-16 to -25)	11.8	4.1	9.5
High Downward Mobility (-25 or lower)	40.6	2.7	25.9
Total	100.0	100.1	100.1
Mean	-18.7	12.3	-6.4
Standard Deviation	30.4	22.2	31.1

Factors Affecting First Job in the United States

Having described the occupational mobility patterns of Cuban migrants in West New York, we turn our attention to identifying the factors associated with occupational mobility. We already know that the first jobs of our migrants are predominantly low status and semiskilled occupations. However, not all Cuban migrants were doing semiskilled work. What are the characteristics of those migrants who were initially able to secure higher status jobs? The evaluation of higher and lower occupational positions rests on comparisons among the Cuban migrants themselves and is thus a concept of relative occupational achievement within the migrant group. We identified four possible factors affecting initial job status in the United States: last job in Cuba, education, sex, and age at arrival.

Previous research on the occupational mobility patterns of Americans predominantly born and raised in the United States has shown that the present occupational achievements of Americans are linked to their previous jobs (Featherman and Hauser, 1978). Such a relationship may affect the career patterns of Cuban migrants *within the United States,* but whether this relationship applies to international occupational transitions in debatable. Although our previous descriptive analysis of occupational mobility patterns would suggest no relationship between last job in Cuba and first job in the United States, this suggestion will now be more rigorously examined.

Education is an important factor affecting the occupational achievements of both migrants and native American citizens in the United States (Featherman and Hauser, 1978). White collar jobs typically demand at least a high school education, while the higher status professional jobs require college or postgraduate training. In addition, education may reflect differences in class values affecting achievement. Specifically, higher educated Cubans are more likely to adhere to "middle-class" values of individualism and futurism (Rogg, 1974). We expect better educated Cuban migrants to be more successful both in their initial job and in subsequent occupational achievements in the United States.

International studies of the relative occupational position of men and women have consistently found women underrepresented in the most attractive, higher paying jobs (Fogarty *et al.*, 1971; Iglitzin and Ross, 1976). The explanations for this finding are varied, ranging from blatant discrimination to sex-role socialization in which women learn that their primary loyalty should be to the family. Although data do not permit us to determine why women are disadvantaged, we expect Cuban females to have lower initial occupational status and to be less successful than males in occupational transitions from

first job in the United States to present job.[3]

Age has been viewed as a variable reflecting work experience. Since older migrants would have had greater work experience in Cuba, it could be argued that this may be a positive influence on their ability to secure better jobs in the United States. Such an argument, however, presupposes that work experience and skills acquired abroad are easily transferable to the new country. This transferability complicates a simple relationship between the Cuban migrant's age at arrival and initial job in the United States. After this initial transition, the relationship between age at arrival and occupational achievement is theoretically less complicated. We expect that younger migrants will more quickly and easily adapt to the new culture and thus achieve higher status jobs. In addition, younger migrants may view the time investment required to obtain U.S. certification and licensing for professional jobs as more rewarding than the older migrants because their future career development in the United States will span a much longer period of time.

The influences of last job in Cuba, education, sex, and age at arrival on first job of Cuban migrants in the United States may be seen in Table 16. The relatively most important variable affecting the status of first job is education.[3] Cuban migrants with higher education upon arrival secured higher status jobs than Cuban migrants with lower education. The only other variable significantly affecting initial job is sex. As expected, the level of the first jobs of female Cuban migrants was much lower than that of their male counterparts. No significant relationship was found between last job in Cuba and first job in the United States, or between age at arrival and first job. Knowing an individual's last job in Cuba or age at

[3] Even though our analysis is focused on working men and women, the labor force experiences of men and women are very different. Based on 1970 census data, Sullivan and Pedraza-Bailey (1979) found that factors affecting the present job of Cuban migrants differed by sex. Census data, however, do not include information on job history and thus the Cuban women in their study sample may only recently have started working. In our study, Cuban females worked in Cuba in addition to currently working in the United States; therefore, the work experience of our Cuban women more closely approximates that of men.

Nevertheless it is important to examine whether the factors affecting initial job or occupational mobility from first to present job differ for males and females. We tested for this possibility by incorporating interaction terms between all the other independent variables and sex. We also ran a similar test with sex interactions on all the assimilation and adjustment variables examined in the next chapter. None of the tests for interaction were significant. Therefore, the statistical results are presented utilizing an additive model. Although the factors affecting occupational mobility, assimilation, and adjustment of Cuban migrants are similar for men and women within our occupational sample, sex may still independently influence these processes.

arrival, therefore, does not help us predict his or her initial job in the United States. Thus, among Cuban migrants, those most successful in securing higher status initial jobs are the more educated. Independent of education, female migrants are disadvantaged in their initial job placement.

TABLE 16
Standardized Regression Coefficients of First Job in United States on Last Job in Cuba and Social Characteristics, West New York

Independent Variables	First Job in U.S.
Last job in Cuba	-.114
Social Characteristics	
Education	.465*
Age at arrival	.117
Sex[a]	-.174*
R^2	.191

* $p<.05$.

[a] *Sex is a dummy variable coded: 1 = female, 0 = male.*

[1] The standardized regression coefficient of each independent variable indicates the relationship of that independent variable with the dependent variable after controlling for the other independent variables in the equation. Because the coefficients have been standardized for differences in the units of measurement, the magnitude of the coefficient of each independent variable can be compared with the coefficients of the other independent variables to rank order the variables in terms of their relative importance. Disregarding the sign of the coefficient, the lowest magnitude is zero and the highest magnitude is one. The sign of the standardized regression coefficient shows the directionality of the relationship. A minus sign indicates an inverse relationship. The absence of a sign implies a plus which indicates a positive relationship. For further information, *see* Cohen and Cohen (1975).

Factors Affecting Present Job in the United States

We now turn our attention to factors affecting present job. As noted in our earlier discussion, we expect job mobility *within the United States* to show links with previous jobs held in the United States. Thus, first job in the United States should be related to present occupational achievement. Although last job in Cuba is unrelated to initial job placement in the United States, we suspect that persons with higher status positions in Cuba would experience a greater sense of relative economic deprivation in coming to the United States and, thus, would be more highly motivated to improve upon their initial job in this country by acquiring the certification or retraining necessary to regain high status occupations. In addition to first job in the United States and last job in Cuba, we will continue to examine the role of education, sex, and age at arrival upon present occupational achievement. The rationale for these expected relationships was stated in our initial discussion of these variables.

Present job in the United States may also be influenced by the number of years in this country. Duration in the United States represents the period during which the Cuban migrant learns about job requirements and how to apply for a job, possibly acquires additional training or develops new skills, and establishes a job information network. We expect that the longer the immigrant lives in the new society, the greater the likelihood of upward mobility from first job to present job.[4]

An analysis of factors affecting the present job of Cuban migrants in West New York is shown in Table 17. Among Cuban migrants, the relatively most important variable affecting present occupational achievement is first job in the United States. Those with higher status initial jobs also have higher status present jobs. Education and sex were important factors affecting first job in the United States. But independently of this interrelationship, education and sex continue to be significant variables affecting upward occupational mobility in the United States.[5] Cuban migrants with

[4] Stein (1979) suggests that the majority of occupational changes occurs in the first three to four years. We were not able to directly address this interesting issue with our data since less than 3 percent of the occupational sample were recent arrivals. Moreover, for the occupational sample as a whole, we do not have information on occupational change or the timing of occupational change between first job and present job.

[5] After controlling for the interrelationship of initial job with present job, residual variation in present occupational position can be interpreted in mobility terms. The analyses were also run with the actual mobility score (difference in status between present and first job) as the dependent variable again controlling for first job status. These results lead to the same conclusions reported here.

higher education have been more successful in moving up the occupational ladder than those with lower education. Females continue to experience greater difficulty in improving their occupational position relative to men. Other significant factors independently affecting occupational mobility are last job in Cuba and age at arrival. Migrants with higher status jobs in Cuba were better able to advance their occupational position after the initial transition period than were migrants with lower status jobs in Cuba. Younger migrants were also in an advantageous position and were more successful than older migrants in ascending the occupational hierarchy after arriving in the United States.

In contrast to the important relationships of first job, last job in Cuba, education, sex, and age at arrival with present job in the United States, we find that length of residence in the United States shows no significant relationship with present job. While years spent in the United States may affect other aspects of the adaptation

TABLE 17
Standardized Regression Coefficients of Present Job on Previous Occupations and Social Characteristics, West New York

Independent Variables	Present Job in U.S.
Previous occupations	
Last job in Cuba	.162*
First job in Cuba	.407*
Social characteristics	
Education	.148*
Age at arrival	-.153*
Years in U.S.	.075
Sex[a]	-.214*
R^2	.391

* $p<.05$.

[a] *Sex is a dummy variable coded: 1 = female, 0 = male.*

process, it is clear that the aspect of the respondent's age most importantly affecting occupational mobility in the United States is age at arrival, rather than length of residence in the United States.

Summary

This chapter focused on one socioeconomic dimension of the adaptation process: occupational change. Occupational position is a key determinant of an individual's location in the stratification system and as such affects present lifestyle and access to desirable goods and services as well as the future life chances of the individual and his or her children. The importance of occupational achievement thus extends well beyond the workplace.

We investigated two phases of the occupational transition of Cuban migrants now residing in West New York. The initial transition from last job in Cuba to first job in the United States is characterized by a notable downward mobility. While the majority of Cuban migrants held white collar jobs in Cuba with substantial representation of professionals and managers, the majority of first jobs held by Cubans were in semiskilled operative work. Last job in Cuba was neither an advantage or disadvantage in the first jobs Cubans held in the United States. In fact, there was no significant relationship between last job in Cuba and first job in the United States. In addition, the migrant's age at arrival showed no relationship to first job. Two social characteristics that importantly influenced first job were education and sex. Better-educated Cuban migrants were more successful in securing higher status initial jobs than less educated Cuban migrants. Female migrants fared worse than males of similar educational levels.

While the personal and socioeconomic hardships experienced early in the migration transition must have been harsh, the Cuban migrant did not accept these initial low status jobs as inevitable or long-lasting. Over a period of 12 years, the migrants were able to noticeably improve their occupational positions, more than doubling their initial representation in white collar jobs. Despite this advance, the proportion of Cubans presently employed in white collar jobs remains lower than the proportion previously employed in white collar jobs in Cuba.

Last job in Cuba did affect the likelihood that Cuban migrants would experience upward occupational mobility from first job in the United States to present job. Those with higher status jobs in Cuba were more successful in climbing the occupational ladder after arriving in the United States. Younger migrants and those with higher education were also more successful over time in improving their occupational positions. Females who experienced greater difficulties in finding desirable jobs upon arrival in the United States continued to experience greater difficulties in advancing their occupational positions over the decade.

4

Assimilation and Adjustment

In the previous chapter we focused on occupational mobility as a dimension of the adaptation process whereby migrants develop strategies of coping with the new society. Another important aspect of this broad process of change is assimilation. While occupational mobility is closely tied to changes of an economic nature, assimilation is a broader concept that includes changes in cultural behavior and attitudes, primary group relationships, intermarriage, and subjective identification (Gordon, 1964).

Occupational mobility and assimilation are ongoing processes that may affect each other in turn. Thus, to disentangle the effects of occupational mobility on assimilation from the effects of assimilation on occupational change, it would be desirable to have panel data, that is, measurements on both concepts at multiple points in time for the same people. Unfortunately, the collection of such data was beyond the resources available for our study. Therefore, in investigating the interrelationship between occupational mobility and assimilation, we will analyze occupational mobility as a factor affecting assimilation. Although the results of this analysis cannot be interpreted as establishing causal links, they can serve as a guide in the identification of important relationships.

After examining factors affecting assimilation, we will turn our attention to factors affecting adjustment -- the migrant's sense of well-being or satisfaction with his current life situation. In this analysis, we are particularly interested in examining the relationship between adaptation and adjustment. Does downward occupational mobility or assimilation adversely affect the adjustment of Cuban migrants?

In the previous chapter, we analyzed the Cuban migrant's social characteristics -- education, age at arrival, duration in the United States, and sex -- and their influence on occupational achievement. In this chapter, the Cuban migrant's social characteristics will continue to be examined as factors affecting assimilation and adjustment. A new concept introduced into the analysis for the first

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time in this chapter is integration into the Cuban community in West New York. In the literature review community integration was suggested to be a factor hindering the assimilation of migrants, but facilitating their adjustment or sense of well-being. We now propose to examine these hypotheses empirically.

Because we know so little about the mental health attitudes and behavior of Cuban migrants, the final section of this chapter is devoted to providing descriptive information to help fill this void.

Factors Affecting Assimilation

In this section we will analyze three assimilation variables -- cultural assimilation, English language ability, and acquisition of U.S. citizenship -- and compare the assimilation characteristics of our restricted occupational sample with the total sample from which it was drawn (Table 18).

The first variable, cultural assimilation, includes a person's behavior as well as preference in such areas as language, food,

TABLE 18
Assimilation Characteristics of Occupational Sample Compared to Total Sample, Cubans in West New York

Assimilation Variables	Samples	
	Occupational	Total
Cultural Assimilation		
$\bar{X}$[a]	2.2	2.2
SD[b]	.7	.7
English Language Ability		
$\bar{X}$	2.6	2.5
SD	.9	1.0
U.S. Citizenship (Percent)	43.2	40.3

[a] *Mean Score.*

[b] *Standard Deviation.*

music, dance, recreation, and celebration of important events. The responses to these items on the schedule range from completely Cuban, mostly Cuban, sometimes Cuban/sometimes American, mostly American, to completely American.[6] The average score for respondents in both the occupational and the total samples was mostly Cuban. In other words, our West New York Cubans are becoming Americanized, but the emphasis is still on the Cuban aspects of culture.

The second variable, English language ability, is not directly tapped by the above scale and refers to the respondents' self-evaluation of their reading, writing, and speaking skills in English and their oral comprehension of the English language. The reponses to these items on the schedule range from no ability, to bad, average, good, or excellent ability.[7] Overall, respondents in both the occupational and the total samples reported their English language ability as less than average. A substantial minority (40 percent), however, reported average or above average English language ability.

Another aspect of the assimilation process that has received little attention in the literature is the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. By becoming naturalized citizens, Cuban immigrants gain not only the right to vote but also the right to hold political office, thereby legitimizing their access and ability to influence the rules and regulations that affect their lives in the United States. Acquiring U.S. citizenship, it can be argued, represents a serious interest in long-term settlement in the United States (Portes, 1969). In fact, after living over a decade in the United States, only 1 percent of the Cuban migrants expressed a definite desire to return to Cuba permanently, with an additional 1 percent saying they would probably return to live in Cuba. Thus, almost all Cubans in West New York plan to stay and live in the United States. They no longer view their situation in this country as a temporary transitional stage preceding their eventual return to permanent residence in Cuba. Over half, however, would like to return to Cuba to visit while maintaining permanent residence in the United States. Forty-three percent of our occupational sample have become U.S. citizens, similar to the 40 percent of the total sample who have done so.

What are the important factors affecting the assimilation of Cuban migrants? Is there a relationship between the Cuban migrants' occupational achievements and the degree of assimilation they are presently reporting? Occupational mobility reflects a complex process of change, including present job, first job in the

[6] For further information on the construction of this measure, *see* Szapocznik *et al.*, 1978.

[7] For further information, *see* Rogler *et al.*, 1980.

United States, and last job in Cuba. We can expect a relationship between present occupational achievement and assimilation; that is, those who have achieved greater occupational success in the United States will be more assimilated. By focusing on the occupational mobility process, however, we are interested in more than this simple relationship. We want to know if assimilation is also affected by the occupational transition between first job in the United States and present job or by the occupational transition between last job in Cuba and present job. Once we adjust for present occupational achievement, does our understanding of the Cuban migrant's assimilation increase if we have information on his prior work history as reflected in his last job in Cuba or first job in the United States? Does the experience of upward occupational mobility within the United States lead to greater assimilation? Or is it the experience of upward mobility between last job in Cuba and present job that affects assimilation?

In addition to occupational achievements we will also examine the influence of the migrant's social characteristics used in our earlier analysis of occupational mobility: education, age at arrival, length of residence in the United States, and sex. Previous literature would suggest that those with higher education and those arriving in the United States at a younger age are more receptive to change; duration in the United States increases exposure to the new society and thus those who have been in the United States longer should be more assimilated (Rogler *et al.*, 1980). Females generally assimilate more slowly than males because their housewife-mother role limits their social interaction outside the home and community. A major social institution in which interaction occurs is the workplace. Since the women within our occupational sample are working and thus have opportunities similar to those of working men for contact with the larger American society, it is debatable whether sex differences will exist (Weinstock, 1963).

The final factor affecting assimilation that we propose to examine is integration into a strong ethnic community. In Chapter 2, we examined six factors facilitating and promoting the development of a strong Cuban community in West New York from 1968 to 1979. The vitality of the Cuban community -- as evaluated by length of residence, common place of origin, primary group interaction, mutual help and support patterns, and common religious beliefs -- continues to be strong. The only factor that does not reflect strong community development is organizational. The level of involvement in and development of Cuban ethnic organizations remain low. In this chapter, we will examine integration into the Cuban community of West New York as a factor affecting both assimilation and adjustment.

The concept of community integration is complex and elusive. In

our literature review, we were unable to discover any generally accepted way to measure that concept. In these initial analyses of the data, we will focus on three dimensions of community integration: interaction patterns with persons in West New York, organizational involvement in West New York, and identification with the Cuban community. Interaction patterns refer to the degree of interaction with four different groups in West New York : (1) nuclear family members (parents, children, siblings) living outside the household, (2) other relatives, (3) Cuban friends, and (4) neighbors. Responses range on a seven-point scale from no interaction to daily interaction. Organizational development refers to the level of participation in two different groups in West New York: predominantly Cuban organizations and the Church. For Cuban organizations, responses range on a three-point scale from no involvement to regular attendance. For church attendance, responses range on a seven-point scale from never attends to daily attendance. Identification with the Cuban community is based on the "Cuban Ethnic Identity Questionnaire" developed by Garcia and Lega (1979). This scale was designed to "reflect the degree of 'Cubanness' of respondents at the individual level, independent of their acquisition of behaviors or skills characteristic of the Anglo-American society" (Garcia and Lega, 1979: 249). With the exception of identification with the Cuban community, all the measures were specifically constructed to reflect integration into the West New York Cuban community. Whether, in fact, the degree of community integration hinders cultural assimilation, English language ability, or acquisition of U.S. citizenship is the hypothesis we intend to test.

The values for the seven community integration variables of the occupational sample are similar to those of the total sample, as shown in Table 19.[1] The variables showing the highest levels of integration into the community are frequency of interaction with Cuban friends and neighbors in West New York and identification with the Cuban community. On the average, interaction with Cuban friends and neighbors in West New York is once a week. Although the value of identification with the Cuban community does not carry a simple interpretation, the average of 7.9 is high given a scale range of .62 to 9.9. Interaction with nuclear family members and

[1] The intercorrelation among these seven community integration variables was examined to determine if they represent a single dimension. Of the 21 correlations, only two were significant. Interaction with nuclear family and interaction with other relatives correlated at .235, while participation in Cuban organizations and frequency of church attendance correlated at .286. The predominance of low and insignificant correlations suggests that these seven variables are tapping different dimensions of community integration and thus the variables were not combined into a single index.

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TABLE 19
Community Integration Variables of Occupational Sample Compared to Total Sample, Cubans in West New York

Variables	Samples	
	Occupational	Total
Interaction with Nuclear Family[a]		
$\bar{X}$[b]	4.09	4.17
SD[c]	2.83	2.81
Interaction with Other Relatives		
$\bar{X}$	3.21	3.25
SD	2.59	2.60
Interaction with Cuban Friends		
$\bar{X}$	4.80	4.72
SD	2.44	2.42
Interaction with Neighbors		
$\bar{X}$	5.19	5.17
SD	1.83	1.90
Participation in Cuban Organizations		
$\bar{X}$	1.30	1.28
SD	.67	.63
Frequency of Church Attendance		
$\bar{X}$	3.59	3.52
SD	1.73	1.72
Identification with the Cuban Community		
$\bar{X}$	7.9	7.8
SD	1.2	1.2

[a] *Living outside household.*

[b] *Mean Score.*

[c] *Standard Deviation.*

other relatives outside the household is lower since a substantial minority of the respondents do not have family in the West New York area. Participation in Cuban organizations is also low. Church attendance, on the average, is less than once a month.

The analysis of the job history, social characteristics, and community integration variables on the three assimilation variables is shown in Table 20.[9] The relatively most important variable affecting both cultural assimilation and English language ability is education. Cuban migrants who were more highly educated upon arrival in the United States are presently more assimilated than migrants who arrived with less education. Independent of education, the migrant's age at arrival significantly relates to present cultural assimilation and English language ability, with younger migrants being more assimilated than older migrants.

Education and age at arrival are the only two variables that directly relate to cultural assimilation. None of the other independent variables, including the three occupational positions, duration in the United States, sex, and the seven community integration variables, exerts a unique effect on cultural assimilation once their interrelationships with education and age at arrival are controlled.[10] In addition to education and age at arrival, present job, however, shows a significant independent relationship with English language ability: those with higher status present jobs know more English than those with lower status present jobs. None of the other independent variables, including first job in the United States, last job in Cuba, duration in the United States, sex, and the seven community integration variables, significantly increases our understanding of the migrants' English language ability after adjusting their interrelationships with education, age at arrival, and present job.

The variables related to our remaining assimilation variable, U.S. citizenship, show a different pattern of findings from cultural assimilation and English language ability. The relatively most important variable affecting U.S. citizenship is present job. Those migrants with higher current occupational achievements are more

[9] We have not incorporated interaction terms between the three occupational positions in these initial analyses. We are, however, aware that scholars, such as Duncan (1966), persuasively argue for the theoretical importance of interaction in studying the effects of occupational mobility.

[10] The frequency distributions of interaction with nuclear family, other relatives, Cuban friends and participation in Cuban organizations were essentially bimodal reflecting the extreme categories of no integration or high integration. The analyses involving community integration variables were rerun to check if the results were distorted by working with the variables in their present form. The results parallel the conclusions and interpretations reported here.

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TABLE 20
Standardized Regression Coefficients of Assimilation Variables on Job History, Social Characteristics, and Community Integration Variables, West New York

Independent Variables	Assimilation Variables		
	Cultural Assimilation	English Language Ability	U.S. Citizenship[b]
Job History			
Present Job in U.S.	.027	.208*	.284*
First Job in U.S.	-.045	-.052	-.068
Last Job in Cuba	.078	.069	.171*
Social Characteristics			
Education	.395*	.491*	.051
Age at Arrival	-.199*	-.188*	.060
Years in U.S.	.104	.060	.202*
Sex[a]	-.042	-.011	.068
Community Integration			
Interaction with Nuclear Family	.037	.023	.216*
Interaction with Other Relatives	-.103	-.097	-.076
Interaction with Cuban Friends	.061	.083	-.018
Interaction with Neighbors	-.091	-.036	.162*
Participation in Cuban Organizations	.059	.074	-.043
Frequency of Church Attendance	.031	-.004	.195*
Identification with Cuban Community	-.038	-.022	.027
R^2	.359	.515	.337

* $p < .05$.

[a] *Sex is a dummy variable coded: 1 = female, 0 = male.*

[b] *Citizenship is a dummy variable coded: 1 = naturalized U.S. citizen; 0 = not naturalized U.S. citizen.*

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likely to be naturalized citizens than those with lower current occupational achievements. In addition to present job, last job in Cuba exerts a significant independent effect on U.S. citizenship. Occupational mobility is an important factor affecting citizenship, particularly the comparative status of last job in Cuba to present job, but not the comparative status of first job in the United States to present job. Controlling for present job, migrants who had higher occupational positions in Cuba and hence have experienced downward mobility since leaving Cuba are more likely to have become U.S. citizens than other Cuban migrants.[11] Cubans who have made an economic sacrifice, as reflected in occupational mobility, in coming to the United States have more quickly legitimized their right to political influence.

The only important social characteristic affecting citizenship is duration in the United States. Cuban migrants who have been in the United States for a longer period are more likely to be citizens than migrants who have arrived more recently. This finding is related to the residency requirements for citizenship. In contrast to the important influence of education and age at arrival on cultural assimilation and English language ability, neither age at arrival nor education is significantly related to U.S. citizenship. Consistent with our earlier finding on cultural assimilation and English language ability, sex is not related to U.S. citizenship.

None of the community integration variables was significantly related to either cultural assimilation or English language ability. Integration into a strong ethnic community, as reflected in interaction patterns, organizational involvement, and identification with the Cuban community does not hinder cultural assimilation or facility in the English language. Three community integration variables are, however, significantly related to U.S. citizenship. Once again, integration into the Cuban community of West New York does not hinder political assimilation as reflected in the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. Rather persons who interact more frequently with nuclear family members outside the household and neighbors and who more frequently attend church are more likely to be naturalized citizens. Thus, community integration does not appear as a factor discouraging assimilation among Cuban migrants in West New York.

[11] All the analyses involving the job history variables -- first job in the United States and last job in Cuba -- were also analyzed with actual mobility scores. In this form, the three job history variables were: present job, the difference in status between present job and first job in the United States and the difference in status between present job and last job in Cuba. The results are consistent with the conclusions reported here.

Factors Affecting Adjustment

The two adjustment variables reflecting the migrant's sense of well-being or satisfaction with his current life situation are job satisfaction and reporting nervous or emotional problems. We will briefly discuss each variable and make comparisons between our occupational and total samples, before proceeding to the analysis (Table 21).

TABLE 21
Adjustment Characteristics of Occupational Sample Compared to Total Sample, Cubans in West New York

Adjustment Variables	Samples	
	Occupational	Total
Job Satisfaction		
Mean	229.9	228.3
Standard Deviation	27.7	28.2
Report nervous/emotional problems (percent)	18.2	21.4

Job satisfaction includes an evaluation of five major aspects of the job situation: pay, promotion, supervision, type of work, and people on the job.[12] Although the job satisfaction scale allows respondents to take a neutral position, that is, they may say they are uncertain about their evaluation of particular job aspects, very few Cubans expressed uncertainty. The overwhelming responses in both the occupational and total samples were favorable, with over twice the number of favorable as unfavorable evaluations. Eighty percent of the Cubans reported they were satisfied with their jobs. While we must be cautious in making comparisons, we find the level of expressed job satisfaction among Cubans is roughly similar to that of the U.S. population: 86 percent of the total U.S. population reported satisfaction with their jobs in 1976 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977). This is surprising in view of the lower level jobs in which Cubans are concentrated.

[12] For further information on the construction of this measure, *see* Robinson *et al.*, 1978.

The data set on Cuban migrants in West New York does not include an instrument to measure either the presence of psychiatric symptoms or the occurrence of stressful life events. Rather we have a single-item question that asks respondents whether they have experienced nervous or emotional problems since coming to live in West New York. Thus, our evaluation of nervous or emotional problems is crude because it relies on the respondents' self-evaluation of problems and their willingness to confide such information to the interviewers. The majority of respondents have lived in West New York for over a decade. During this time, 18 percent of the occupational sample and 21 percent of the total sample reported having nervous or emotional problems.

It is difficult to evaluate whether the percentage of Cuban migrants who report nervous or emotional problems is low or high without comparable information on other groups. A directly comparable question is not, to our knowledge, available on the total U.S. population. In the early 1970s, however, approximately 17 percent of Americans, aged 25 to 54, reported that they had a nervous breakdown or had felt near a nervous breakdown (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977). Having or being near a nervous breakdown is more serious than experiencing nervous or emotional problems. The President's Commission on Mental Health (1978) estimated that at any given time, 25 percent of the U.S. population is under the kind of emotional stress that results in symptoms of depression or anxiety. If these data are reasonably comparable, then it appears that the prevalence of nervous or emotional problems among Cubans in West New York is roughly similar to that of the larger U.S. population.

What are the important factors affecting the adjustment of Cuban migrants? Our major theoretical focus in this analysis is on the relationship between adjustment and occupational mobility, assimilation, and integration into a strong ethnic community. We expect that Cuban migrants with high status present jobs will be better adjusted than Cuban migrants with lower occupational achievements. Adjusting for present occupational position, we expect that Cubans experiencing downward mobility either from last job in Cuba to present job or from first job in the United States to present job will show poorer adjustment. While the relationship between assimilation and adjustment is complex, we expect that the stress associated with assimilation will adversely affect adjustment. Since it has been argued that integration into a strong ethnic community will mitigate the stress associated with occupational mobility or assimilation by providing the Cuban migrant with a sense of identity and support through primary group relationships, we expect community integration to be associated with better adjustment. In addition to these variables, we will investigate the

relationship between adjustment and the migrant's social characteristics that were included in our earlier analyses.

The influence of the job history, assimilation, community integration, and social characteristics variables on the adjustment variables is shown in Table 22. The relatively most important variables affecting job satisfaction are present job, identification with the Cuban community, and English language ability. Cuban migrants who currently hold higher status jobs express greater satisfaction with their jobs than Cubans with lower status jobs. Additional information on the job history of Cuban migrants -- that is, their last job in Cuba or first job in the United States -- does not increase our ability to predict their current job satisfaction. It is the present job rather than earlier occupational transitions that relates to current job satisfaction. Independent of present job, those migrants who more strongly identify with the Cuban community are also more satisfied with their present job. Community integration, as reflected in identification, does serve a positive function in terms of occupational adjustment. The assimilation dimension related to job satisfaction -- English language ability -- indicates that those migrants reporting greater assimilation on this dimension also express greater job satisfaction. None of the migrant's social characteristics, including education, age at arrival, duration in the United States, and sex, shows a relationship with job satisfaction.

The analysis of variables related to reporting nervous or emotional problems reveals that none of the job history or assimilation variables is significantly related to reporting problems. Although the stress associated with occupational change and assimilation may be related to other dimensions of adjustment not included in this study, we did not find that reporting nervous or emotional problems was associated with occupational change or assimilation among Cuban migrants in West New York. The only variable significantly related to reporting problems is community integration. The relevant dimension of community integration is organizational involvement and not primary group interaction patterns or identification with the Cuban community. Cuban migrants who attend church more frequently are less likely to report nervous or emotional problems. Thus, community integration, as reflected in church attendance, is related to better adjustment on this dimension. None of the migrant's social characteristics shows a significant relationship with reporting nervous or emotional problems.

Attitudes and Behaviors Related to Mental Health

Professionals working in the area of human services delivery and policy-makers developing programs require information with which

TABLE 22
Standardized Regression Coefficients of Adjustment Variables on Job History, Social Characteristics, Assimilation, and Community Integration Variables, West New York

Independent Variables	Adjustment Variables: Job Satisfaction	Adjustment Variables: Report Nervous/ Emotional Problems[c]
Job History		
Present Job in U.S.	.247*	-.064
First Job in U.S.	-.119	-.026
Last Job in Cuba	-.021	.041
Social Characteristics		
Education	-.052	-.035
Age at Arrival	.061	-.052
Years in U.S.	-.018	-.059
Sex[a]	.019	.104
Assimilation		
Cultural Assimilation	-.038	-.054
English Language Ability	.195*	.121
U.S. Citizenship[b]	.068	.104
Community Integration		
Interaction with Nuclear Family	-.048	-.100
Interaction with Other Relatives	.091	.063
Interaction with Cuban Friends	.067	.029
Interaction with Neighbors	-.056	-.094
Participation in Cuban Organizations	.102	.061
Frequency of Church Attendance	.103	-.385*
Identification with Cuban Community	.184*	-.001
R^2	.272	.171

* $p < .05$.

[a] *Sex is a dummy variable coded: 1 = female, 0 = male.*

[b] *U.S. citizenship is a dummy variable coded: 1 = naturalized U.S. citizen, 0 = not naturalized U.S. citizen.*

[c] *Report problems is a dummy variable coded: 1 = report, 0 = not report.*

to make important decisions on how best to meet the needs of their target group. No information on Cubans in West New York currently exists to address such questions as: To whom do Cuban migrants turn for counseling? Are Cubans willing to consult mental health professionals? Do Cubans perceive people with nervous or emotional problems as different from themselves? In this section, we propose to provide basic descriptive information that addresses these questions. We hope this information will help policy-makers and human service professionals to better understand mental health-related attitudes and behaviors of Cuban migrants in West New York.

Cuban respondents were asked to whom they would turn for help if they or someone in the family developed serious nervous or emotional problems. Answers were coded by the first, second, and third person or group they would turn to. As shown in Table 23, almost half the respondents indicated that their first choice would be the family doctor. A substantial minority, 28.3 percent, would turn to family and relatives. When we look at second and third choices, we find more diversity of opinion. The earlier consensus among Cubans on the importance of the family doctor as a first source of help is not matched by any other person or group in the second or third choices; nevertheless, family and relatives continue to be an important source of help as either a second or third choice. Indeed, we find that almost 75 percent of the Cubans mentioned the family doctor or family and friends as their first, second, or third source of help. In short, the importance of the family doctor parallels that of the family network as sources of support in dealing with serious nervous and emotional problems.

Going beyond the family and the family doctor, we find that a substantial minority, 44 percent, indicated they would turn to a therapist in private practice as a first, second, or third choice. The clergy and the mental health clinic were mentioned by 24.7 and 20.0 percent of the respondents, respectively. Very few mentioned *santeros* or *espiritistas*. Thus, when Cubans were asked to whom they would turn for help in dealing with a serious nervous or emotional problem in their family, we find that they turn predominantly to the family doctor and other family and relatives. The major reasons given for their choices were that the family doctor is a highly trained, qualified authority who knows how to treat and diagnose problems. Cubans expressed faith in the doctor's ability to guide and advise on nervous/emotional problems as well as physical problems. Family and relatives were perceived as an important source of help because of primary closely-knit bonds that are built on love, understanding, trust, and duty.

In the above discussion we noted that a sizeable minority of Cubans indicated they would consult a therapist if someone in the

TABLE 23
Preferred Source of Help for Treatment of Serious Nervous or Emotional Problems, Cubans in West New York
(In percentages)

Source	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	Percent of respondents who mention Source at least Once
No one	.3	9.0	19.0	-
Family/Relatives	28.3	28.0	16.7	73.0
Friends	1.0	.7	9.3	11.0
Neighbors	.3	.3	-	.7
Co-workers	1.0	.7	-	1.7
Family Doctor	46.1	21.7	6.0	73.7
Clergy	2.7	7.3	10.0	20.0
Santero/Espiritista	.3	.7	1.0	2.0
Mental Health Clinic	2.0	9.7	13.0	24.7
Therapist in Private Practice	13.0	15.6	15.3	44.0
Other	5.0	6.3	9.7	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

family developed serious emotional problems. In another question, we asked directly if they would consider consulting a mental health professional if they had a problem. As shown in Table 24, over 83 percent indicated that they would definitely consider consulting a mental health professional; with an additional 11.8 percent indicating they would probably consider it. Thus, while therapists were not the predominant first, second, or third choice of Cubans, there was an expressed willingness and openness to consulting a mental health professional among 95 percent of the respondents.

What kind of mental health professional do Cubans prefer to use? Among those who would consider consulting a mental health professional, there is a preference for a psychiatrist who is in private practice. Private practice is an important dimension. While over

one-third would prefer to use a psychiatrist in private practice, fewer than 8 percent would prefer a psychiatrist in an agency or clinic. In fact, Cubans would prefer to go to a psychologist in private practice rather than a psychiatrist in an agency or clinic. Only 2 percent preferred to use a social worker. In these data, we find additional evidence of the importance of the family doctor. While one-third of Cubans preferred a psychiatrist in private practice, an additional one-third preferred whomever the family doctor would recommend. The major reasons given for their preference indicate once again the high regard for training and education among Cubans. Psychiatrists were perceived as being better trained and educated than psychologists or social workers. Cubans also reiterated that they would rely on the education and training of their family doctor to advise them on whom to consult. Monetary considerations were very infrequently mentioned.

The above attitudes of Cubans on sources of help and mental health professionals reflect both the importance of the family and a respect for education and training. In addition, these attitudes are based on knowing people who have consulted mental health professionals. Almost 70 percent of the respondents reported knowing at least one person who had consulted a mental health professional. In addition, the experience of the other person with mental health professionals had been favorable. Over 80 percent of the respondents believed that this person or persons had improved as a result of seeking professional help. An additional 13 percent reported that some had been helped and some had not been helped. Thus, fewer than 7 percent perceived that consulting a professional had not helped. This personal knowledge of people who have sought professional help influences attitudes toward people who seek professional help. As shown in Table 25, over 70 percent of the Cubans believed that people who receive help from mental health professionals are *not* different from themselves. Among Cubans who perceived those seeking professional help as different, the most common explanation were that those seeking help worry too much, have more serious problems, have less family support, and have not been able to resolve the problem on their own. Very few were seen as crazy or *loco*. Consistent with other research on Hispanics (see Rogler and Hollingshead, 1965, for Puerto Ricans), we find that Cubans expressed a different attitude toward persons with nervous or emotional problems and persons who were viewed as crazy. As shown in Table 25, Cubans predominantly believed that persons with nervous or emotional problems can get better, but were less certain if people who are "crazy" can get better.

Thus far, we have focused on the attitudes of Cubans toward sources of help in dealing with serious nervous/emotional problems, toward mental health professionals, and toward people who seek

TABLE 24
Attitudes Toward Mental Health Professionals, Cubans in West New York
(In percentages)

If you had a nervous or emotional problem would you consider consulting a mental health professional?	
Definitely Would Consider	83.5
Probably Would Consider	11.8
Don't Know	.7
Probably Would Not Consider	.7
Definitely Would Not Consider	3.3
Total	100.0
What kind of mental health professional would you prefer to use?	
Social Worker, private practice	.8
Social Worker, agency or clinic	1.3
Psychiatrist, private practice	35.2
Psychiatrist, agency or clinic	7.5
Psychologist, private practice	13.4
Psychologist, agency or clinic	1.7
Whomever the doctor recommends	31.0
Other	.8
No preference	5.0
Don't Know	3.3
Total	100.0

professional help. We have not specifically examined the behavior of our Cuban respondents. As noted earlier, 21.4 percent of the respondents reported that they had experienced nervous or emotional problems since coming to live in West New York. As a follow-up to this question, we asked respondents if they had consulted anyone about the problem and whom they had consulted. Of those reporting problems, 96.9 percent had turned to others for help. Although respondents could report more than one source of help, the overwhelming majority, 80.6 percent, reported only one source. As shown in Table 26, the person most frequently consulted about nervous or emotional problems was the family doctor

TABLE 25
Attitudes Toward People who Seek Help from Mental Health Professionals, Toward People with Nervous/Emotional Problems, and Toward People Who Are "Crazy," Cubans in West New York (In percentages)

Are people who seek help from mental health professionals different from you?	
Very Different	5.4
Somewhat Different	10.7
A Little Different	9.1
Not Different	71.1
Don't Know	3.7
Total	100.0
Can people with nervous or emotional problems get well?	
Yes	74.2
No	1.0
Some Can, Some Can't	24.8
Total	100.0
Can people who are "crazy" get well?	
Yes	20.0
No	17.3
Some Can, Some Can't	57.7
Don't Know	5.0
Total	100.0

mentioned by over two-thirds of the respondents. Thus, the critical role of the family doctor expressed in attitudes is reflected in the actual coping behavior of those respondents reporting nervous or emotional problems. In addition, the preference expressed by Cubans for mental health professionals, especially psychiatrists, in private practice is evident in their behavior. Utilization of mental health clinics, the clergy, or *santeros* is much lower than the utilization of the family doctor or the psychiatrist in private practice.

TABLE 26
Sources Consulted by Cubans with Nervous/Emotional Problems, West New York

Source	Percent Who Mention Source
Family/Relatives	8.1
Friends	4.8
Neighbors	1.6
Co-Workers	0.0
Family Doctor	66.1
Clergy	8.1
Santero/Espiritista	4.8
Mental Health Clinic	4.8
Psychiatrist in private practice	27.4
Psychologist in private practice	9.7
Social Worker	1.6
Other	3.2

Summary

This chapter focused on factors affecting the assimilation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York. The interrelationship of occupational mobility and assimilation, two dimensions of the adaptation process, was examined, followed by an analysis of the interrelationship of adaptation and adjustment. In addition, the migrant's social characteristics and integration into the West New York Cuban community were examined as factors affecting assimilation and adjustment.

While Cuban migrants are assimilating into American society, the level of cultural assimilation and facility with the English language is low. Cuban migrants do not report behaviors and preferences that equally reflect both Cuban and American elements. Rather their behaviors and preferences attach greater weight to the Cuban component of the phrase Cuban-American. English language ability is predominantly below average. Compared to cultural assimilation and English language ability, the level of assimilation on the political dimension is high. In 1968, a majority of Cuban migrants in West New York did not intend to apply for U.S. citizenship or were undecided. By 1979, a substantial minority -- over 40 percent -- had become naturalized citizens with an additional 44 percent

intending to apply for citizenship. Even more striking is the high level of voter registration and voting among Cubans who by becoming citizens are now eligible to exercise their political rights. The level of political participation on these dimensions dramatically exceeds that of the total U.S. population.

The influence of occupational achievement and mobility on assimilation varies among the assimilation variables. Neither present job nor previous job in Cuba nor first job in the United States shows any relationship with cultural assimilation. The present job of Cuban migrants is, however, related to their English language ability and the likelihood of their being naturalized citizens. Further information on the job histories of Cuban migrants, last job in Cuba, or first job in the United States, does not increase our understanding of their present proficiency in English. In contrast, the occupational transition of Cuban migrants from last job in Cuba to present job is a significant factor affecting their present citizenship status. Cuban migrants who have experienced downward occupational mobility, thereby making an economic sacrifice in coming to the United States, have more quickly legitimized their political rights in the United States by becoming citizens than other Cuban migrants. Thus, the economic dimension of the adaptation process is interrelated with two aspects of the assimilation dimension of adaptation, English language ability and acquisition of U.S. citizenship.

Two social characteristics that independently facilitate cultural assimilation and English language ability are education and age at arrival. Cuban migrants who were more highly educated when they entered the United States and those who were younger assimilated more quickly on these two assimilation dimensions than Cuban migrants with lower education and Cubans who were older. The acquisition of U.S. citizenship, however, shows no relationship with either of these social characteristics. The important social characteristic related to citizenship status is duration in the United States: the longer the period of residence in the United States, the more likely Cuban migrants are to acquire U.S. citizenship. The greater importance of duration in the United States for citizenship as opposed to cultural and language assimilation is related to the legal residency requirements for naturalization. There were no sex differences on any of the assimilation variables.

We found no support for the hypothesis that integration into the Cuban community of West New York hinders assimilation. Community integration, as represented by primary group interaction patterns and organizational involvement in West New York and by identification with the Cuban community, was unrelated to both cultural assimilation and English language ability. Three community integration variables were significantly related to the acquisition of

U.S. citizenship. Those Cuban migrants who interacted more frequently with nuclear family members outside the household and neighbors in West New York and attended church more frequently were more likely to be naturalized citizens. Thus, when community integration variables were significantly related to assimilation, the data indicate that the greater the community integration, the greater the assimilation, and *not* that community integration retards assimilation.

The variables related to adjustment within our study include job satisfaction and reporting nervous or emotional problems. The overwhelming responses of Cuban migrants in evaluating their jobs, including pay, promotion, supervision, type of work, and co-worker relationships, were favorable, with over twice the number of favorable as unfavorable evaluations. Approximately 20 percent of the Cuban migrants reported experiencing nervous or emotional problems since coming to live in West New York. It is difficult to evaluate whether the level of adjustment reported by Cuban migrants is high or low because of the lack of directly comparable data. The best available data, however, indicate that the level of adjustment on these two dimensions is roughly similar to that of the U.S. population.

Current occupational achievement is an important variable affecting job satisfaction. Migrants in higher status jobs reported greater job satisfaction. Information on job history, last job in Cuba or first job in the United States, is unrelated to the respondent's satisfaction with his or her current job. None of the job history variables is related to reporting nervous or emotional problems. English language ability, an assimilation variable, is significantly related to job satisfaction. Cuban migrants with greater proficiency in English express greater job satisfaction than Cuban migrants with less proficiency in English. None of the assimilation variables, however, shows a relationship with the other adjustment variable, reporting nervous or emotional problems. Thus, the economic and sociocultural dimensions of the adaptation of Cuban migrants in West New York, as reflected in current job and English language ability, respectively, are related to one dimension of adjustment -- job satisfaction.

None of the migrant's social characteristics, including education, age at arrival, years in the United States, or sex, show a direct relationship with either of the adjustment variables.

The hypothesis that community integration is associated with better adjustment receives support from our analysis. Cuban migrants expressing greater identification with the Cuban community are more satisfied with their current jobs. Cuban migrants who go to church more frequently are less likely to report experiencing nervous or emotional problems. Thus, while only one of the seven

community integration variables are related to each of our two adjustment variables, the significant relationships that do exist are in the expected direction. An important question that remains unanswered is why the organizational and identificational dimensions of community integration show a relationship to the adjustment dimensions we have studied, while the primary group interaction patterns with nuclear family, other relatives, Cuban friends and neighbors in West New York show no relationship with either of the adjustment variables.

The mental health-related attitudes and behaviors of Cuban migrants show a preference for and reliance on the family doctor as a source of help in dealing with nervous or emotional problems. Cuban migrants have a great respect for the education and training which the family doctor has received and express great confidence in his/her ability to diagnose, guide, and advise them on nervous or emotional problems as well as physical problems. Almost 95 percent of Cubans express an openness and willingness to consult a mental health professional. Their preference is for a psychiatrist in private practice or any mental health professional the family doctor recommends. Psychiatrists, like the family doctor, are perceived as having the high education and training necessary to qualify them as authorities in dealing with nervous or emotional problems.

5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The analysis of the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban immigrants in West New York, New Jersey, presented in this monograph, permits us to draw some conclusions concerning factors related to their occupational mobility, assimilation, and sense of well-being. The study also raises questions that can be answered only by further analysis of these data, as well as questions that cannot be answered with these data. In addition, the research leads to recommendations concerning the needs of West New York Cubans and ways to enhance their functioning and participation in the larger society. The first part of this chapter will summarize the major findings of this study. The second part will set forth a number of recommendations useful to both researchers and policy-makers.

Major Findings and Conclusions

A dynamic Cuban community, representing the largest concentration of Cubans outside Miami, has developed and matured in West New York over the past decade. Once a declining and aging town which had been losing population, West New York has experienced a revival and continues to grow as more Cubans and other Hispanics move into the area.

The average West New York Cuban has lived in the community for more than a decade, considers it his/her real home, and plans to settle permanently in the United States. This average West New York Cuban is surrounded by Cuban family, friends, and neighbors with whom he/she interacts frequently in a mutual help and support

system. Ethnic organization participation is low except for church attendance, and even this is declining. With the sole exception of organizational participation, the factors which facilitate and promote the development of an ethnic community have remained strong in West New York over the past decade.

Links to other groups in the larger society have grown slowly. Despite the fact that the population of West New York has become more Cuban and Hispanic over the past decade, fewer respondents are working in ethnically enclosed situations. Although the degree of ethnic enclosure remains much higher in the school setting than in the work situation, Cuban children are currently going to school and forming friendships with more non-Cuban children. Thus, links in friendship patterns, work, and school have been developing slowly. Local newspapers now provide Spanish-language sections in their regular editions, helping to create a bilingual environment. Many stores and local government agencies have also hired bilingual personnel. While television programming continues to provide both English and Spanish programs, almost half of West New York Cubans claim to be watching primarily English programs, a big change from 1968 when most Cubans were watching exclusively Spanish programs. Indeed, television has become the most common avenue through which Cubans are exposed to the values, attitudes, and customs of American society.

Cuban migrants in West New York have developed strategies to cope with the new society in which they live. This broad process of change is called adaptation. In this research, we investigated two dimensions of the adaptation process: occupational mobility and assimilation. Occupational mobility refers to changes on the economic dimension, while assimilation is a broader concept referring to changes that include cultural attitudes and behaviors, primary group relationships, intermarriage, and subjective identification.

Upon their arrival in the United States, West New York Cubans experienced sharp downward occupational mobility. The majority had come from white collar jobs in Cuba, but found themselves initially concentrated in semi-skilled operative jobs immediately after their arrival in the United States. Over the past decade, however, the occupational profile of the West New York Cuban community has changed considerably. More than double the number of Cuban migrants now hold white collar jobs than in 1968. Nevertheless, the proportion of West New York Cubans in white collar jobs remains lower than the proportion who had held white collar jobs in Cuba.

Upon first entering the United States, Cuban migrants were unable to utilize the job skills they had developed in Cuba. Last job in Cuba and work experience acquired in Cuba, as indicated by age at arrival, were unrelated to initial job placement in the United

States. After an initial transition period, a substantial minority of Cubans were able to improve their occupational position. Cuban migrants who had higher status jobs in Cuba were more successful in climbing the occupational ladder within the United States than those who had lower status jobs in Cuba. Age at arrival also relates to occupational mobility after the initial transition period. Cuban migrants who were younger upon arrival in the United States -- and, therefore, had less work experience in Cuba -- were the most successful in exchanging their initial job in the United States for a higher status job.

Two additional factors related to the economic adaptation of Cuban migrants both in their initial job placement and in subsequent job changes are education and sex. Higher education facilitates economic adaptation. More educated migrants were not only able to secure better jobs upon entering the United States, but also were better able to ascend the occupational hierarchy after their arrival. Male migrants were more successful in their economic adaptation than female migrants. Males had higher status first jobs in the United States and were more likely to be upwardly mobile than females after arriving in the United States.

The job history information of Cuban migrants permitted us to directly examine changes on the economic dimension of adaptation. The analysis of changes on the assimilation dimension of adaptation is indirect. We do not have assimilation measures before arrival or upon first arrival in the United States. Rather, the information on assimilation is limited to the present time. Thus, the analysis of changes in assimilation must rely on comparing different levels of present assimilation with other characteristics of the Cuban migrants.

As noted above, education and age at arrival facilitate the economic adaptation of Cuban migrants. Education and age at arrival also facilitate sociocultural adaptation. More educated migrants and migrants who were younger when they arrived in the United States are more assimilated on both the cultural and English-language dimensions. Education and age at arrival, however, were unrelated to political assimilation, as reflected in the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. The only significant social characteristic of Cuban migrants related to citizenship was length of residence in the United States.

With the exception of the variable relating to the process of citizenship where residence requirements are mandated, we found that the Cuban migrant's age at arrival, as opposed to length of residence in the United States, greatly facilitates both economic and sociocultural adaptation. Based on previous research, we had expected length of residence in the United States to play a more important role in the adaptation process. Earlier research, however,

has largely focused on length of residence in the United States, while ignoring the relationship of this variable with other variables. Cubans who came earlier in the migration flow to the United States and, thus, have been in the United States longer were better educated and from higher status jobs in Cuba. By failing to control for these changes in the migration stream, an undue importance is attributed to length of residence in the United States. Furthermore, the Cuban migrant's current age has two components: length of residence in the United States and age at arrival. Prior studies have concentrated on the former component and ignored the latter. Our research suggests that age at arrival, and not simply length of residence in the United States, is critical in affecting the adaptation of migrants in the United States.

The importance of education in the adaptation process is consistent with the findings of earlier studies. The remaining social characteristic of the Cuban migrant -- sex -- is related to the economic dimension of the adaptation process but not to assimilation. Women are disadvantaged in terms of initial and subsequent occupational positions, but the assimilation of Cuban women who had worked in Cuba and who are currently working is similar to that of Cuban men who had worked in Cuba and who are currently working. This finding is consistent with earlier research suggesting that the workplace provides an important social context facilitating assimilation, since it affords opportunities for social contact with persons outside the ethnic group. A majority of Cubans reported working with predominantly non-Hispanic co-workers thus increasing the possibility of exposure to the attitudes and behaviors of the larger society.

The economic dimension of adaptation is unrelated to cultural assimilation. Neither the present occupational achievement nor prior job history is related to the Cubans' present cultural assimilation. While occupationally successful Cubans are not more culturally assimilated, neither are they less culturally assimilated. This finding implies that Cuban migrants who have been most successful in securing white collar jobs in the United States have not had to abandon their culture to do so.

While economic adaptation is unrelated to cultural assimilation, as reflected in behaviors and preferences in such areas as language, music, dance, recreation, food, and the celebration of important events, economic adaptation is related to the other two dimensions of assimilation: English-language ability and the acquisition of U.S. citizenship.

Cuban migrants who currently have higher status occupational positions do report significantly greater ability in the English language than those who have been less successful. With the present statistical analysis, we cannot determine whether English-language

ability has a greater influence on present job achievement or whether present job achievement has a greater influence on English-language ability. To disentangle the time ordering of these variables we need panel data. What we do know is that present occupational achievement is importantly related to assimilation on the English-language dimension. Information on Cuban migrants' job histories -- last job in Cuba and first job in the United States -- shows no relationship to English-language ability once the relationship of present job and English-language ability is controlled.

Information on job history is relevant to understanding the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. Not only are those Cuban migrants with higher status present jobs more likely to be U.S. citizens, but those Cuban migrants who have been downwardly mobile, from last job in Cuba to present job, are also more likely to be citizens. Cuban migrants who have made an economic sacrifice, as reflected in downward occupational mobility, have more quickly legitimized their right to exercise political influence by becoming citizens than other Cuban migrants. The acquisition of citizenship is not simply a credential to increase economic opportunities. Cuban migrants have taken their political rights very seriously as reflected in high voter registration and high voting turnout. The future political orientation and activity of the West New York Cuban community may depend on the extent to which these formerly upper- or upper-middle-class Cubans are able to provide the leadership core needed to mobilize a politically unified Cuban community. The potential is there. A strong ethnic community already exists.

Thus far we have focused on factors affecting the adaptation process and the interrelationship of the economic and assimilation dimensions of adaptation. But we also want to examine the factors related to the Cuban migrants' adjustment; that is, the sense of well-being or satisfaction with their current life situation. Two indicators of adjustment are included in this study - job satisfaction and reporting nervous or emotional problems. None of the Cuban migrants' social characteristics including education, age at arrival, years in the United States, or sex were related to either adjustment variable.

Adaptation is related to job satisfaction. Economic adaptation, as reflected in the achievement of higher status current jobs, and assimilation, as reflected in greater English language ability, were associated with greater job satisfaction. Thus, we find that specific aspects of adaptation relate to a specific aspect of adjustment. These same aspects of adaptation, however, show no relationship to our more general adjustment variable, reporting nervous or emotional problems.

Integration into a strong ethnic community may mitigate the stress

associated with adapting to a new society by providing the Cuban migrant with a sense of identification and support through primary group relationships. In contrast to this positive function which community integration may have on adjustment, it has been suggested that community integration may hinder assimilation. Our analysis included an examination of the role of community integration in the assimilation and adjustment process.

We found no support for the hypothesis that integration into the Cuban community of West New York hinders assimilation. None of the community integration variables were related to assimilation on either the cultural or English-language ability dimensions. Community integration, however, was significantly related to acquisition of U.S. citizenship. Cuban migrants who were more integrated into the Cuban community of West New York were more likely to be naturalized citizens. Becoming a citizen, thus, indicates a serious interest in long-term settlement in the United States. Such integration, however, neither facilitates nor hinders cultural assimilation or English language ability.

Community integration does facilitate the adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York. Cuban migrants who are more identified with the Cuban community express greater job satisfaction. Cuban migrants who more frequently attend the predominantly Cuban churches in the community are less likely to report nervous or emotional problems. The above relationships establish a link between the subjective identification and organizational dimensions of community integration and the adjustment of Cuban migrants. Although we included four indicators related to integration into primary group networks including the nuclear family living outside the household, other relatives, Cuban friends and neighbors, none of these variables was related to either job satisfaction or reporting nervous or emotional problems. Thus, while the data suggest that the link between the individual and community is a fruitful area for future research, we need to examine a more diverse array of adjustment behaviors in order to clarify how ethnic community support facilitates adjustment.

Recommendation 1:

* *Given the relationship between proficiency in the English language and occupational success, adequate classroom facilities for the study of the English language should be provided for the adult Cuban community of West New York.*

Our research on Cuban migrants in West New York demonstrates an important connection between English language ability and occupational success. Cuban migrants in higher status and better paying white collar jobs are more proficient in English than other Cuban migrants. While adult Cuban migrants may develop rudimentary English language skills through various channels, such as exposure to the mass media and in their everyday dealings with non-Hispanic workers and even their own school-age children, formal classroom training in grammar and sentence construction is important to acquire the level of proficiency required by higher status jobs. Thus, a crucial first step toward increasing the utilization of previously acquired skills and experience within the economic mainstream of American society is to provide adequate classroom opportunities for the study of the English language.

At present, there is a serious shortage of classroom opportunities in West New York for adults to study the English language. This shortage is illustrated by the fact that both the West New York Board of Education and Hudson Community College -- the two major sources of adult English language programs -- report a waiting list of adults seeking to register for English language instruction: as of June 1980 the number on the combined waiting lists exceeded 500. Since these two institutions currently process approximately 550 adults each year, the number of persons on the waiting lists means that a person wishing to study English in the near future must wait one year before a classroom vacancy will be available. While these data demonstrate the need to expand English language programs for adults, they do not tell the whole story because the current waiting lists do not include the large numbers of Cubans and other Hispanics who know little or no English and who have not pre-registered for these courses. Based on the self-reported English language ability of our Cuban respondents, we estimate the number of such adults exceeds 7,000. Even if the immigration of Hispanics to West New York stopped today, it would take over a decade to provide English language instruction for all these adults with the present resources of West New York.

The importance of English language training for children of non-English-speaking migrants has been clearly recognized. In fact, the most extensive development of English language programs has been focused on the children. Even recent developments within the Adult Programs Division of the West New York Board of Education indicate that central focus on children. It is currently planning an active outreach program for the parents of Hispanic children in the school system. These parents will not only be encouraged to register for the adult English language program but also will be given preference over other adults on the waiting list to ensure their immediate entry into the English language programs. By improving

the language ability of parents, officials hope that the home environment will reinforce the English language training children acquire in the school. While it is critical that the children of migrants develop their English language skills, we must recognize that the utilization of the talents and skills of first generation migrants is also important and necessitates the expansion of English language classroom training for adults.

Recommendation 2:

> * *To ensure better utilization of the skills of Cuban migrants in West New York, adult vocational training programs should be offered in Spanish in combination with English language instruction.*

The shortage of English language programs for adults affects not only employment opportunities in higher status white collar jobs, but also opportunities for vocational training. The majority of vocational programs in West New York, offered through Hudson Community College, provide training in lower level white collar jobs such as bookkeeping and secretarial work and in skilled blue collar jobs such as bricklaying and auto mechanics. These vocational programs, however, are taught only in English. The Board of Education estimates that it takes non-English-speaking adults from a year to a year and a half to acquire the level of proficiency in English necessary to pursue either formal education or vocational training. Thus, while vocational opportunities are available in West New York, the lack of English language programs prohibits migrants from taking advantage of them.

Bilingual educational programs have been operating for many years for children in the school system. An important aspect of bilingual education is that regular academic subjects are taught in Spanish parallel with English language instruction. As the child's ability in English develops, he or she is encouraged to shift to English-taught courses. This principle could also be applied to adult training programs. Vocational training programs should be offered in Spanish in combination with English language instruction. The content of the English course could provide exercises that draw on the material being studied in the vocational program. Such a bilingual vocational-language program would lead to a better utilization of the skills of Spanish-speaking migrants and help to

increase motivation to learn English because of its immediate relevancy to work skills.

Although it was reported that there was no waiting list for vocational programs in West New York, the utilization of these programs by Hispanics appears to be low. In our study, we found that fewer than 8 percent of Cuban migrants who had worked in Cuba and were presently working had received occupational training or re-training to facilitate the transferability of their work-related skills to the United States. Although a majority of Cuban migrants have improved their occupational position since arriving in the United States to a level similar to or higher than the job they had in Cuba, it appears that few migrants have directly benefited from officially sponsored vocational programs.

Recommendation 3:

> * *Research should be directed toward understanding the present utilization of English language and vocational training programs and toward the development of communication channels linking the institutions offering these programs with the Hispanic community of West New York.*

The best data available to us indicate that the present utilization of both English language and vocational training programs by the Cuban community is low. To improve this utilization, we must understand the process by which individuals enroll in these programs. We should begin by collecting information on the characteristics of individuals enrolled in these programs and compare them with the characteristics of the larger community. Through such comparison, we can identify the types of individuals being recruited as well as groups of individuals that are underrepresented. Thus, for example, in the course of conversations with staff personnel, we were surprised to find that a substantial majority of the Hispanics enrolled in both the language and training programs were female. Because of the important breadwinner role men serve in the family, it is critical that we understand why Hispanic males are underrepresented in these programs in order to develop strategies to encourage their participation. Additional information on the characteristics of those enrolled would permit the identification of other underrepresented groups.

A study of utilization patterns should investigate the social factors

which facilitate or constrain the enrollment of Hispanics in these programs as well as the characteristics of the program including scheduling, location, staffing, and monetary incentives. As part of this effort, it is important to realize that non-utilization of these programs may be the result of individuals not knowing about the programs. In our study, we found that a majority of the Cubans in West New York were unaware of the many local social services available to them including health, legal, housing, and community action programs. Thus, it is imperative that we identify the communication channels linking institutions offering these programs with the Hispanic community.

Recommendation 4:

* *In order to better serve the needs of the Cuban community, mental health professionals should recognize the central role the family doctor plays in the treatment of the nervous and emotional problems of Cubans in West New York.*

When confronted with mental health problems, Cubans turn predominantly to their family doctor. Because of extensive education and medical training, the family doctor is viewed as an authority in dealing with human problems. The trust that develops between the patient and doctor in dealing with physical problems is extended to nervous and emotional problems as well. Cuban migrants, however, express an openness and willingness about consulting mental health professionals. Among mental health professionals, Cubans show a preference for whomever the family doctor recommends or for psychiatrists in private practice. The Cuban's high respect for extensive medical training leads to higher evaluations of the psychiatrist as opposed to the psychologist or social worker. The emphasis on private practice is also important because psychiatrists working in an agency or clinic are not as favorably regarded as those working in private practice. Indeed, agencies and clinics are evaluated as offering inferior care. Thus, the context within which the mental health professionals work affects their image in the Cuban community. By recognizing the central role the family doctor plays in the mental health behavior of Cubans, professionals in agencies and clinics might be better able to serve the needs of the Cuban community as well as improve their own image.

Recommendation 5:

> * *Research on the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban immigrants should include comparative data on regional differences within the United States and on other minority and native non-Hispanic white groups.*

While it is important to examine the adaptation and adjustment of a single Hispanic group such as the Cubans, we must adopt a comparative framework in order to more fully understand the situation of Cubans. Comparative analysis may take many different forms. For example, we may ask if the adaptation and adjustment of Cuban migrants in West New York is similar to that of other Hispanic groups in the New York Metropolitan area. Because Cubans are political refugees, we expect that their experience in the United States will differ from that of other immigrant groups. But without comparative data on other Hispanic groups, we are unable to specify in what respects their patterns of occupational mobility, assimilation, and adjustment are different from or similar to other Hispanic groups. This approach is valuable as a means of empirically examining the reality of Hispanic diversity.

Another comparative approach should focus on Cubans and native non-Hispanic whites in the New York area. Because the latter group is frequently taken as a standard for evaluating the progress of minority groups, comparing the socioeconomic achievements of Cubans with native white Americans would help us identify areas in which Cubans have made the most progress and the areas in which there has been little or no progress. In addition, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the degree of adjustment, the sense of well-being or satisfaction with the current life situation, of minority groups without comparative data. Again the native non-Hispanic white group comes closest to representing a social majority with which to compare minority groups.

A third approach should involve studying Cuban migrants in different regions of the United States. By collecting and comparing data on Cubans in diverse areas, we can increase our understanding of the role of the broader community context in the adaptation and adjustment process of individual migrants. Regions differ in economic opportunities, the availability of social services, the size and vitality of the Cuban community and of other ethnic communities. Comparing the adaptation and adjustment patterns of Cuban migrants in different areas permits us to investigate the role of contextual factors in these processes. Such analysis is useful in determining whether the situation of Cuban migrants in West New

York is similar to that of Cubans living in other areas and in identifying the structural factors which facilitate or hinder the integration of Cubans into American society.

Recommendation 6:

> * *The immigrant's experience should be documented through the use of panel data methods which gather information on the same individual at multiple points in time.*

Adaptation and adjustment are complex interrelated phenomena. While it is relatively easy to collect such concrete job history information as last job in Cuba, first job in the United States, and present job, it is doubtful whether the respondent can remember or articulate his or her level of assimilation or adjustment at different points in time. Furthermore, retrospective data on subjective phenomena are highly unreliable. Thus, if we are to understand the interrelationship of occupational mobility, assimilation, and adjustment we must turn to panel data, that is, data gathered on the same individual at multiple points in time. With such data we can begin to untangle the complex patterns linking attitudes and behaviors acquired in Cuba with subsequent experiences and changes in these attitudes and behaviors as migrants strive to develop strategies to cope with the new economic, social, and cultural environment of the United States. The analysis of the evolution and interrelationship of these processes might also be useful in identifying critical points at which policy efforts and intervention should be aimed.

Recommendation 7:

> * *Research should be directed toward studying the content and shape of Cuban political involvement in West New York.*

After Cuban immigrants to the United States become American citizens, they are eligible to vote and to participate more actively in

the political process. Our data clearly show that Cubans who are naturalized citizens have high levels of political involvement as expressed in voter registration and turnout in local and national elections. Although Cuban voting behavior exceeds that of the total U.S. population, there are still no Cuban political organizations, no elected Cuban officials or even Cubans who have run for political office in West New York. Given the high proportion of the West New York population that is Cuban and the high proportion of Cubans who have already become citizens, it is surprising that the Cuban political presence is as yet invisible in an organizational sense. With almost 30 percent of Cubans employed in white collar jobs, the leadership potential necessary to politically activate and unite the Cuban community already exists. Because of their highly active voting behavior and potential for becoming a decisive political bloc, this is a critical time to study the process whereby the content and shape of Cuban political involvement will be formed.

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